Name Richard B Gregg

Subject General Notes XIX

~~Instructor~~

Date Begun Oct ~~[illegible]~~ 1932

J. L. Hammett Co., Cambridge and Newark

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Began Oct 19, 1932

Oct 19, 1932. The latest number of the Austin Review, ~~really~~ so full of Tory stuff, has an article about effect of Ordinances that shows how the result is getting home to Tories & shows that they have no answer except their own blind clutching, & that they are beginning to realise that they will lose by it all. Very encouraging. Also the debate on Indian women's movement shows the wheel of Tories on which their gradual enlightenment.

Oct 27. What Charlie writes about the cool reception that Sir. S. Hoare got at Blackpool indicates the probable nature of the new constitution for India, and the things that will be said in the India debates. Very well; that will mean, I trust, the refusal of cooperation

eventually by even the Hindu moderates a majority of Moslems, - i.e. a really united India. Also it means the end of Gr. Br., and the loss of the world's respect. Great pride comes before a great fall.

The Br got away with the Indian mutiny. That had no previous years of Indians working for freedom; no Gandhi; no deliberate N.C.O.; no understanding of the issues by the outside world; no shame about exploitation or doubts about white moral superiority; no telegraphs; no closely linked commerce; no preceding world wars to weaken Br; no ~~debt~~ no looming Br debt close competitors of Gr. Br. in power. The combination of these changes will ruin Gr. Br now.

In 1924 Bryce said "We cannot

unimedig Khaddar without Hindu-Muslim unity, without removing untouchability. To make Khaddar successful is to demonstrate our capacity for self government. "... Without the universal adoption of Khaddar I see no chance whatsoever of universal mil i.e. non-violent, freedom."

If Gandhi were released he would go in for H-M unity & Khaddar. He might even agree to suspend CD for awhile in order to promote the other two. G.B. might even accept a 1 or 2 yr time on that basis, hoping to defeat him with the new Constitution. It seems doubtful though whether either would accept the other's proposition. Cf had too good an example in 1931 of how readily the bargaining broke promises.

In my book make it clear that I agree with Gandhi that religion is

necessary for N.V.R., but that my book is not to show the beauty or wonder of the spirit, but some of its power, in terms that will appeal to ~~an unspiritual non-spiritually minded~~ people whose faith in the spirit has lagged. For division in spiritual terms I am not well fitted. See the great ~~leaders~~ religious leaders for that.

Insert in N.V.R. book a footnote on Dr. editorial on prayer as a discipline for N.V.R. Put in a footnote that I believe that until the church & religious people adopt a practice of N.V.R. they cannot recover moral respect of the world. And that its study & practice will reveal new ~~ideas~~ ideas re X's

atonement, etc.

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The more Moslems drift over toward Congress & the stronger Congress becomes & the longer it endures, the more furious will become the All Indian Moslem Conf. leaders. Their increasing anger is another sign of Congress strength. So the alleged menace of communal reaction last summer need not worry us. S. Ali seems to be turning toward Congress. Perhaps touched by the memories of Jinnah's 1924 fast. Perhaps he & some other Moslem are beginning to sense that they might perhaps do better to play with Congress than against it & are beginning to feel they can trust Hindus more than British.

The next step in Bengal will

drain a lot more gold out of India. 250 million out since last Feb., it is estimated. I think this is one reason for Br. doing it. They want to strengthen the Indian Govt treasury for the try of one next year.

Do not regard your opponent as wicked, only as mistaken, — & perhaps yourself also as partly mistaken.

A fact like Gandhi is so strong a demonstration of human spiritual unity that it is not persuasive

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"A thought oft repeated becomes an action; an action oft-repeated becomes a habit, and habit makes character, and character shapes destiny."

Prof. Walter E. Clark. Dept of Sanskrit, Iowa. Univ.

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The more gold Br drains from India the more comes the revolution and the greater the unlikelihood of all groups. Indian State will soon go into opposition. The position of the Princes among their people is weakening. Their own finances are weakening fr. Br. will keep off gold & the old £ could for a year or more my Stamp.

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The Oct. New Statesman cites the fr. why Gandhi said he was a little at fault in causing the Ahmedabad mill owners by fasting and that his fast was for the weakening employer, why was it not wrongful

coercion on the employees? Because he was on their side; because he and they had taken counsel together to kick it out; because if they did kick it out they might return, so he wanted to do it first and set the example, as all leaders should. Therefore, it was the fact served to unify and strengthen them. Not coercing them in their previously declared will, but using their courage to correspond with their hopes and purposes. J.C.W.

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"Increase in amount and reduction in cost of production are vitally useless unless they conduce to hygienic, cultural and ethical progress — the advancement of the physical, mental and moral welfare of the community

end of entire humanity" – Burmese Religion – abridged – by A. C. S. Hyne; Jarrold Publishers, London, 1932.

Someone said "There's hope for the bone that can be reshaped";

If India should fail it would indicate, perhaps, that the world agony must go on till the control at the top gets very small, and the middle class are all extinguished, so as to destroy their present scale of values. Then the small upper crowd will become weak and corrupt and timid, as in Russia. Gandhi may fail as X seemed to have failed, only to spread his ideas all over the world. They will spread far faster & more powerfully

this time. But we help.

Perhaps the final Br-made constitution will be so rum that it will fail flatly. Perhaps Br unity will get badly strained this autumn and winter.

I rose in Br gal announced in advance as a threat. There may be another world war starting in Japan, or another depression starting upon failure of the arms conference. But neither of these seems probable to me.

The World Events
24 Essex St. Strand, London, WC 2

Captain B. H. Liddell Hart says that to prepare for peace you must

understand war.

"Money Power & Human Life"
Fred Henderson - Allen & Unwin 1932
6s.

"Economic Consequences of Power Production" - Nicholson & Hind, 1931.

A new book by Bergson - "Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion" - Felix Alcan - Paris 30fr.

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"In truth, for the great mystics it is a matter of radically transforming mankind by first giving the example. --- "The truth is that one has to pass through heroism to arrive at love." --- "An acting mysticism capable of marching to the conquest of the world

--- The ethics of the gospels is essentially that of the open road. It has been said that it is on the brink of paradox. But the paradox vanishes, the contradiction disappears if the intention of those maxims is considered, which is to induce a state of mind.

The reviewer George Allen[21], in The Spectator, Aug 27, 1932, says this book is "undoubtedly the most impressive apology of Christian mysticism ever published by a writer foreign to Christianity by his origins."

To write an article on Christ showing

(1) The only way world problems can arise is unequal purchasing power.

(2) That will not grow because of the

intrinsic effect of money valuations of labor and of machinery. the overhead expense of machinery, land, taxes, insurance, interest costs more than wages & is more protected, human machinery does not repair or replace itself automatically as machines do.

(3) Overhead expense of large machine plant compels tariffs and their extension & ∴ cuts down international trade and loans and ∴ restricts the capitalist system. Involving autarchy.

(4) If so, Gandhi in India is inevitable

The Bx reactionary mood is a natural result & shows their realization of a

real possible likelihood of loss of India. The Tories are canny. That they are afraid now is ∴ a good sign. Their action will serve to unify India. ~~—~~ A step in the process of release. Congress will be vitally strengthened through the winter & spring. The gains from Gandhi's fast will be consolidated. That will take time. A period of healthy growth of inner unity. Other signs not necessary now.

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Now I. Whenever I think I have nothing in common with a certain person or group of people it rather indicates that at that time I am ~~not~~ ~~one~~ interested in one of the less important aspects of life, i.e. that I am not interested in human unity and the spiritual element that is in us all.

Perhaps the establishment of a new system of values requires not only a great person living them with great energy and devotion but also them being lived by a number of people through a period of suffering. Somehow the suffering makes them endure. Of European values, American frontier values.

Religion is a value context for society which Gandhi accepts and uses.

The effect of Satyagraha and Sarvodaya and the other elements of Gandhism upon the ruling class is really a demolition or alienation of the former values & symbols of that class. With that source of their power removed

or so completely altered, its power over others fades away. That is what conversion is, an alteration of values.

When people see a blind man on the street they are always very considerate in helping him to avoid falls, etc. Why not be equally kind and considerate to a person who is morally blind? Especially since that may help to cure them.

Figure out how and to what extent the hearts and minds of the different sections of the British have been changed in regard to India's future.

3 a 4p. Bx.

Tories, Cabinet members, Liberals, journalists, Labour party, I.L.P., religious groups. Individuals, House, MacD,

Irwin, Sothern, Churchill, Sandys, Smith, Bruce.

Rs. in India:- Curzon, Minto, Morley, Reading, Hardinge, Chelmsford, DC 2, upper I.C.S. Lytton.

The change may be by way of increased expenditure in India, loss of foreign opinion, discouragement, disheartenment, loss of hope, anger.

Test by recent attitude in India by Rt. Curzon (Lord) article in Fortnightly, test F. by I.C.S. Curzon; article in Dict. Nat. Biog. by High I.C.S. Curzon; articles in Empire Review by retired I.C.S. Curzon; police dinner test Curzon; Remarks by Home Member King, by Sir John Anderson of Bengal, by Home, by Home D, by Sothern, by Bruce, by Smith, by Churchill, by Lord Lloyd, by Irwin, by Scotch missionaries, by Reading, by Tory conference at Ninet-

good, by Custom, by ~~Aristotle~~ Aristotle of Nineteenth Century, Spectator, Economist, National Rev, Empire Rev, Truth, Week End Rev, Nat. Rev, Bishops & deans, by Rudyard Kipling, Edw. Thompson.

Lucian condemned the Hindu idea of electing minds before training them. That is on the assumption that minds are made in themselves. But our minds are instruments to be used for purposes. It is the nature of the heart which determines how & in what directions & to what ends the mind should be used. ∴ ~~I think~~ I think the Hindu idea is right. Do not grant power until you know reasonably well how it is likely to be used. Lucian used simile of a plant: that you feed & water & use a

plant no matter how stunted it is;
trusting that God will bring it to
good fruit. Maybe, maybe not.

An inferiority complex destroys a man's initiative & self-reliance at the start. This is the reason why the system of social gradations & flatteries is so appealing & powerful a means of controlling society.

"Initiation and Initiates in Tibet" by Alexandra David-Neel, Rider & Co., London, 1931.

"The Theory of Politics" - Geoffrey Sainsbury, 1931, London.

"An Irreducible Minimum in Learning a Foreign Language" by Thomas A. Cummins. Journal of American Oriental Assn. Vol 43, #2, June 1923. Yale Univ. Press.

Success Factors Listed.

The following factors making for woman's economic independence were enumerated by Miss Harriette Houghton, director of the general service department of the American Woman's Association:

Understanding of the importance of good health.
Emotional balance.
Desire and capacity for hard work.
Appreciation of high standards of workmanship.
Ability to do objective, scientific thinking.
Ability to see one's work in relation to that of others.
Belief in the integrity of one's self and one's work.
Generous attitude toward the ability and work of others.
Courage.

Elaborating on the measurement of success in terms of earnings and holding a job during the depression, Miss Houghton stressed that women, when in competition with men, earned larger incomes, and that the principal contributory factors to retentions and advancement were stability, education and vocational choice. Women with dependents, it was shown, were more successful in keeping their positions, two-thirds of those earning $6,000 to $8,000 a year having dependents.

It was pointed out further that women with four or more years of remuneration were more likely to retain their jobs, with a close relation between the length of service and earnings up to $5,000. The median salary of the non-graduate of high school was estimated at $2,655, whereas that of those with graduate degrees was $4,105. Miss Houghton emphasized that salaries were higher in occupations having relatively few women, with medicine, law, the stage and finance providing 50 per cent higher incomes than the average in all professions. Occupations overcrowded with women, such as librarian, nurse and other non-executive careers, paid correspondingly lower salaries.

Teaching "Desperately" Crowded.

Miss Doty said there had been a tremendous drop in number of placement orders and in salaries, but that most employment requests had been filled. The teaching profession, overcrowded before the depression, is "desperately" so now for the beginner, she explained, with academic subjects the least required and commercial subjects, home economies and physical education more in demand. Secretarial and clerical workers are badly hit, merchandising is holding up better with a tendency toward part-time openings for beginners, while laboratory work has decreased recently, according to Miss Doty.

Occupations [illegible]

See the dialogue of Buddha & Purna re H.V.R.

"The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe" - by Margaret Mead. Columbia Univ Press $4.50

The West is not lacking in courage or power of organization &c. organize good will & be H.V.R.

Perhaps H.V.R. proves a hindrance so great that it makes the opponent or enemies terribly uncomfortable, uncommonly, until he has

done something fine in them. It cannot seem to accept such love without return.

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Re Bapu's fast, - the will which can turn itself to death is stronger than the will which kills others, and the human conscience acquires this. It is a sign of tremendous moral respect for the personality of the ~~strong man~~ opponent, and a powerful evocation of his conscience and of the fact of spiritual unity. Hence the efficacy of willing them.

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The national flag for U.S.S.R. is ~~white~~ red, ~~white~~ and beginning to be depicted in India

—

"Education and the Social Order" by Bertrand Russell, Allen & Unwin, 1932 7/6d

Besides the 5 values outlined in my pamphlet, there are the value of religion in politics.

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~~Aspect of~~

If we want a better world, we must be ready to pay a bigger price for it than we have paid hitherto.

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We make the world we live in, not merely negatively, but because of the responses from others which we evoke by our inner attitude expressed in our acts.

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Along with NVR there must always be a definite program of action, with details that can be worked out from day to day by all kinds of persons who believe in the program, no

matter what their position or ability. Such work prevents frustration or a sense of frustration, and stimulates growth of new values, new ideas, new strength.

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If a man wants to be a great moral force he must first serve the poor for years

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One way to develop love is to do acts of kindness requiring donation of personal time and energy and direct contact with those being served, — more than mere gifts of money or things, & more than donating work to the lonely others. Work with people, not merely for them.

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The idea that imagination =

stronger than will should be used in education.

The Caste System of Northern India – J.H. Hutton.
Oxford U. Press 1931.

The fact that the Salem Party is not represented at the 3rd R.T.C. is significant. Cf. Baldwin's prophecy in N of C in 1930 re result of a break between Dr. Ambedkar & Indian people.

The idea that imagination is stronger than will should be utilized in the disciplines for N.V.R. Educate the will also.

One of the important results of Gandhi's fast & victory will be: the

stimulus to the Indian imagination for years to come.

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Re comparison between Gandhi's fast, the V.R. & other dilemma, this factor of imagination probably counts. There is a common element to all these three. Get it clear.

Might write an article on the ethics of Gandhi's fast.

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Probably suffering is an element in the establishment of a new set of values. Gives firmness to them. Of Christ and Islam sacrifice thus has a value. Perhaps this is one reason why X said to his disciples "Rejoice & be glad" when they were persecuted, for so persecuted the prophets which were

before you". P explains the workings of new values. "For my sake" = in a search for truth.

The WVR's attitude toward owning much property = perhaps like that of Jesus. For when Jesus P was, as a result of to Judaism, and what he could achieve to win his world. "We it as long as they exist, will-ism was Fox's reply.

Br. self-confidence and unity is steadily decreasing. The unconscious Br. ideal - a homogeneous standard & mode of life - is steadily weakening in value and becoming more difficult to maintain.

U.S. individualism & distrust of authority is just seen for the like-

warmness to Socialism. It is an alien ideal.

The longer the Jail keeps Bapu in jail and absolute communal unity, the more & more rapid and complete will be its fall when or before the new constitution begins. My book may help to stir the Nationalists & Moderates to the idea of fair play and stir Bapu.

This last marks partial agreement between stern Moderate, Sikh & Hindu leaders marks a big development, a break away of many Moderates from the old ground & from the Jail. An accession of strength to the Congress. The effect of the ordinances & the continued arrest of Gold is cumulative & continuous. More & more Moderates will break away from old ground. Probably

many Indians at the R.T.C. will refuse to agree to the idea of reservations, so when they get home in P— a few there will be apt to be another lot added to the Congress or at least leave the gout. The passing of months, with further gout irritabilities, & a result in Burma ~~still~~ together with Tory speeches & opposition in Parl will weaken Indian loyalists still more. They will be so much weaker by the time the new Govt bill is read, for passage that probably the safeguards will be still further increased, thus ensuring failure. Maybe some results in States, too.

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"The Revolt of Mopplahs" on

Wm Instincts" by Dr John M. Tabeler,
May 1932, Scientific Monthly, My
Cit.]

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Under h VR people r given intensive
education about govt & its purposes.
Probably the rich make the Fedism com-
munists in this fable & how they are
using the name of govt. And people
no longer give consent

In chap on mass discipline emphasizes
the fact that the masses tend in
general relationships to follow leaders,
but there is a vast field of instinctive
tendencies. ∴ organize & develop
these singular factors by activity
till they become habitual. If capital
can control govt, why can't
labor also be organized?

We all need to ally ourselves with something greater. In the least we like to ally ourselves with some big thing or organization, - something external - because we have lost our religion - we desire to ally ourselves with a big inner principle - God

If I believe I am eternal then my acts on earth ought to be consistent with that no matter what the temporal loss to me may be. ∴ I must insist on right methods (satyagraha) and not on results in my lifetime. That is another reason for not being attached to the fruit of works. The best fruit will not mature in my present life in India & the best fruit is

spiritual & universal, - not for my separate enjoyment. Also only a small part of the fruit can be consciously my own enjoyment.

If people were truly religious, i.e. imbued in spiritual unity & innate expression of that belief, they could not be split up by a thousand & one policy of any sort.

Perhaps 75% of Great Britain's power, like that of an army, is due to her national discipline. If so, the disintegration of Br. morale is very important.

A difference between Jesus & acting Athenians is that one is for a public enjoyment & the other for a private enjoyment. The wise feel that

a practice has defective origins, e.g. religion may have partly come from fear, - does not invalidate either its effectiveness nor its present moral value. If there was a truth in it, that truth may have been undergratefully realised originally, a wrong or a poorly realised truth. But if the truth was there, it is there & was it. So with acting drama.

From "The Cowley Calendar" published by Mowbray, London, 1932, 2s 6d.

"Thinking badly of ourselves does not constitute humility but thinking nothing of ourselves."

The unemployed university grads in all countries may contribute a

source for revolutionary leaders. Any book among them may help.

The Br. enormous ideal of a bourgeois standard of living is one reason why Gr. Br. is so differential now to U.S. opinion — the U.S., so much stronger economically. Also that ideal will be greatly weakened when India drops off, because of losses of jobs for Br., losses of economic sinews of power, losses of income from investments. The unemployed educated youth of Gr. Br. may then complete the smash of the Br. system.

For financial and political reasons the new Indian govt will be compelled to release the political prisoners. V.K. will then be released with them.

In the psychology section of the British Assoc meeting Sept 2, 1912, Dr. Wm Brown, Wilde Reader in Mental Phil. at Oxford said that modern investigations in the phenomena of auto-suggestion were throwing further light upon the nature of the will ... "the will in its complete form carried with it the feeling that we should succeed in any effort. When we knew that a wished-for result was impossible we could not will. The essential constituents of will, belief in the possibility of success, were absent and we had only wish instead of will. Here there was no real conflict between will and suggestion, but only a conflict between the suggestion of success and the suggestion of

fusion — i.e. a conflict between two imaginations, unaccompanied by any spiritual motion" ---. We could turn our imagination so that fear could be replaced by confidence, and we ought all to do this.

Cf. Bondi's law of mental suggestion in this connection.

Nov. 24. Winston Churchill's statement together with those of Lord Haldane & Lord Lee of Fareham shows how strongly the U.S. is growing financially in & with Gr. Br. & ∴ how much U.S. pressure may count re. India. Churchill's letter shows it, too.

Nov. 25. Much of the resentment in England over the debt situation is due to

the education that Gr. Br. now no longer is the most powerful nation.

The fall in the pound & the rise in price of gold will drain gold out of India faster & make Gr. Br. feel the need of India all the more. The accelerated drain will make it possible for the Govt to continue in India long after popular support is gone & long after a normal economic situation there would support it. That will drive P.M. into enacting legislation that is sure to fail for financial as well as political reasons.

Churchill's talk yesterday on the R.T.C. will anger more Indians in India & make the delegates realize their own futility all the more. An indication

of the sort of talk that will knock bosses in Parl later. Even tho the Irishmen now may control only 100 M.P.s in H. of C., they control more in the bodies of MacDonald workers, the Tory section may run away with the joint.

Best articles on Sitting Dharna are "On the Hindu Custom of Dharna to Redress a Grievance" - by E. Washburn Hopkins in Journal of American Oriental Society, vol 21, second half, 1901; "Gandhi and the Hunger Strike in India" by W. Norman Brown, South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol 21, p. 203, July, 1922. See also Yule & Burnell "Hobson-Jobson" under Dharna. Also E.W. Burlingame, Buddhist Legends, 3 vols, index under hunger strike; M.A. Stein, trans of Kalhana's "Rajatarangini".

Fasting to obtain a just demand.

Of the "act of Faith":

Facing Ithaca is a method of coercion. As used by Franklin in 1932 it was intensely dramatic and moving, an appeal to public opinion, an exertion of spiritual unity, a non-violent, it showed respect for the personality of the opponents; it was proof of a strength will than ~~would~~ a violent attack would be; it compelled a moral choice = take me, or the sword and ~~starvation~~ intolerable; it was truthful because announced beforehand. Nevertheless it took all by surprise; it stained the initiative; it stayed Napoleon's 16th empire of war; it used concentration of force = moral strength on weakness;

Can We Face Reality Like the Poor?

HELEN G. MURRAY
in *The Congregationalist*

Now that we're nearer poverty and farther from wealth than we've ever been before, we're the most pathetic people on earth. Obsessed with the fear of the three major calamities that threaten mankind (poverty, unemployment, helpless old age), we are mown down as defenseless, unarmed civilians before the fire of enemy machine-guns. We cry out in bewildered protest.

Take the case of the Boston bookkeeper who, after a lifetime of careful saving and investing in "foolproof" securities, found herself at fifty-seven assistant treasurer of a real estate firm threatened by the depression. Faced with the loss of dividends and the depreciation of her holdings, fearful of losing her job in the deflated real estate company, she killed her aged mother and shot herself.

And you and I might do the same. Why? Because we're more sensitive than millions of really poor people, who always have to face all these calamities, even in the most prosperous years of our most gilded prosperity? No. Because we haven't their strength and courage. Because they're more "tough-minded" and better sports. Because our intellectual and spiritual poise is more dependent than theirs on material security. Because their grip on life is more stubborn and surer. Because they can face reality as we are proving that we cannot face it. And that fact is something we've got to face whether we think we can or not. For today or tomorrow about this time our material world may come crashing down about our ears. We may as well decide now as we contemplate such a catastrophe as something by no means out of the realm of our possible experiencing: Can we face it or not?

Faith

(Perth Daily News)

Perth, Western Australia

HISTORY, even that of our own times, furnishes many inspiring instances of self-sacrificing devotion by ministers of the Gospel. But for sheer sublimity of faith a compeer of Mr. C. B. Wyllie, an undenominational missionary from Malaya, would be hard to find.

Originally, a school-teacher, Mr. Wyllie, to quote his own words, "heard the call to preach the Gospel to the heathen of Malaya," and, unperturbed by material considerations as to whence his sustenance would come, made his way there. For six years he has labored in that field; he has married and has one child.

Questioned whether his work was supported by voluntary subscriptions, Mr. Wyllie smilingly shook his head and said, "This will be hard for you to believe. We do not take up subscriptions, and we have no friends to help us with subscriptions. When money is needed, the man who needs it goes on his knees and prays—and the money comes. When I resolved on my present furlough for my wife and myself, I had not the money for our fares. I prayed for it—and here we are."

To this the writer murmured something about Elijah and the ravens. "That's it exactly," he replied; "I walked out of my home in Tasmania with nothing; I answered the call, and God has provided."

Telling drama proves superior courage as well as superior will power. And because of the kind of courage, a superior conviction of eternal life & of spiritual values.

My Asia article & my pamphlet-
& the Nation article come at a time
when people are thinking much about
the Bs. & Bs are paying close attention
to American opinion.

"Easy Baking" by Emily Reinenberg
John Day Co. $2.50.

Dec 3. On the night of Nov 12 or 13, just
before Nonie gave up Miss Hollings, we
asked Bess Van Patten over to discuss the
matter. She had been feeling very blue
during her two weeks here after leaving Hart-
ford. There were no wealthy jobs in pros-
pect. She said "I can tell you one thing
sure that if things don't get better I am
going to leave and go back to Hartford".
She said it with emphasis, making it

clear that she did not feel bound by the tentative agreement or arrangement between her and Nonie; & that she would not undergo much deprivation & comfort for the sake of the future. She continued to speak at some length of how she missed her little home and garden in Hartford, and her friends there and the way of doing business and living there. I said something about appreciating how unpleasant city life is compared with country life, and she burst out with gratitude, to the effect that she knew I would understand. Nonie told me that all during those first two weeks and the following week or ten days, - till a big pile came in, - Bess frequently spoke of her homesickness for Hartford and her home and

garden and friends there. Mrs. Cleveland also frequently spoke the same way.

The British people are highly disciplined and compact, but their very close following of their leaders is now a danger to them because their leaders themselves are in the present situation making some bad mistakes, especially re India. The leaders are tied to the old values & the old values are failing.

American financial pressure on England, by lowering the pound is raising the price of gold & ∴ accelerating the drain of gold from India, thereby raising the discontent among the peasants & industrialists - farmers, bringing a revolution nearer, & ~~[illegible]~~ making the failure of the 3d R.T.C. more frequent

more likely. The Indian peasants & farmers are then smiling. If the gold dries up, the exports into India must stop & hence the customs duties will fall. Also the other sources of govt income are also falling, & England cannot pay for the Br. & Indian armies in India, it looks as if Br. power in India may fail sooner than expected. American action will probably also decrease world commodity prices still further & thus decrease exports of things other than gold from India.

The Indian State limit on the protection of the Br. army in India. Br. India (England) benefits on decreasing that army. That fact will be a factor in preventing federation.

The existence of the Princes on Br. army protection ~~is~~ requires the subordination of Indian States to Br. India, because it is Br. Indian revenues that pay for the Br. army. But the Princes do not want to be subordinate to Br. India. They are crying for the moon.

"I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor provisions; I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battle and death. Let him who love his country in his heart and not with his lips only, follow me." – Garibaldi

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Re culture & civilization ~~expound~~ read a lot of Havelock Ellis.

General Foods Cook Book
Modern Priscilla Cook Book
National Cook Book (Regions of U.S.)

If I get some money for Xmas spend part of it on

(1) Atlantic book, Scott book, Poe book, Cook books.

People who are afraid not to go to war, who are filled with anger or hate toward the opponent, or who really believe in violence, ought to go to war. But all the more reason for building up a disciplined army of peace.

Dec 11. The British are enacting Ordinances in India to last 3 yrs more, - probably in relation to granting home rule after the time they think necessary to get the war contribu-

-Parks in relation to mining & economic depression.

tion running and train a crowd to doing it - nothing to stand the Ordinances then to hold their own jobs. The Br propose to give Viceroy & Governors Ordinance "emergency" powers under the new Constitution. So they propose to throttle Congress ways. To have Congress throttled by Indians will have same result as to have it throttled by Br, when as all Indians know, the Br stand behind their puppet Indians all the time.

So the present process of steady alienation from Govt will continue. In fact it will accelerate, because Indians will not have the same respect & awe of Indians in Govt as they have toward Englishmen. That is, Br. prestige is carrying on the Govt now.

a partial withdrawal of Br. control will reduce that prestige & substitute in its place only greed for place & power. Meanwhile the dislike & mistrust of Indians toward Br will steadily increase. The Govt. hope to shield themselves from this by putting puppet Indians in office. It is too transparent a dodge.

The Congress sympathizers will steadily grow in number, even under a more Indianized regime; the sentiment of Indian freedom & unity will steadily increase; probably the new Constitution will not be accepted by a majority of Indians to work it. If it is accepted, the Congress will control all the legislatures; the Ordinances will be repealed; the governors & Viceroy will have to use emergency powers, and thereby draw down on themselves the

full recruitment of Indians once more.
Meanwhile, the financial pressure of U.S.,
Germany & France on G. B. will have
lowered the price of all commodities except
gold still further, and thus have
increased the drain of gold from India &
increased the hardships of peasants still
further. The next trouble with
landlords in U.P. legislature is perhaps
because the gold drain is now beginning
to pinch the landlords, so they are
coming over to side with the peasants.
That seems probable to me. If Indian landlords,
~~[illegible]~~, financiers & industrialists,
many traders join up with Congress
peasants, the few lawyers left
with Govt will soon get queered out.
Japan's compelling the League to back
down, & the ill-concealed fear support of

Japan will lower Br. prestige in India still more. The Russian threat on Br is a sign of the times, & will work to weaken India. Possibly there may be an outbreak of discontent in F.M.S. and Ceylon. The Dutch agitation for Home Rule adds to Br. internal difficulties, & discontent among Br. Subjects will steadily increase. The Br. invasion [illegible] from India will make trouble in Persia - the weak spot of the country.

The one stylish thing now in India are getting badly worried of. Noon's article in Civil & Military Gazette & the anti-tank gun fiasco in Flanders & Mesopotamia.

The financial panic in the U.S. will [illegible] out of the spring. Even if it lets up by then, the Indian bankers will have been so aggrieved that they cannot recover

The Tories are strong enough in Parl + Cabinet to weight the Joint Parl Com, & maybe the Labour Party under pressure of events in India) will withhold opposition there. If so, the Tories will so weaken the bills, with stipulations of Sir S. Hoare, that the "safeguards" will be piled on so thick as to prevent any Indian emptive advancement,

If Br industrial forces in India, it will cause more Indian hostility in India.

The RVR shows how criminals must be constructive of new habits, goals in them, and resistant only to and their evil tendencies. The resistance is not in the criminal but in his defects.

We cannot plan out in detail

the future steps of social & economic reform, as socialist theory has tried to do. But by using the right method, we can take the right step rightly, and so work on, one step at a time, towards a result which will be good. The right method is M.V.R.

Policy & existing technical processes and methods is a value system. Is it powerful enough in the U.S.A. to overcome money & violence and social flattery? Howard Scott seems to think so. I grant it is strong enough to cause a different outcome here from that in Europe. But regimes are still controlled by force & this ends by financial or military.

Smith's idea would imply [illegible] for India or other places which have not enough coal or oil or water power to develop industrially on [illegible] as U.S. can. He writes on the foreign trade.

Probably the take on here kind of a higher standard of living will be a powerful incentive. But there is also the factory discipline + love of initiative to consider, and the slightness of development of these new [illegible] pain of making the new values. Cannot be put into effect by violence, + Engineers have not got enough moral prestige.

"The Anatomy of Modern Science" by Bernard Bavink, trans by Hatfield Bell 21 a. 1932. Doubleday [illegible]

If Gr. Br. defaults on Our debt, ~~even if not~~ the opponents in Ireland, Persia & India will be greatly strengthened, because Gr. Br is using a trying to end an internat'l financial agreement by unilateral action. So Gr. Br will seem doubly harsh to people of those countries in insisting on the letter of the bond. Gr. Br. has already done enough to weaken herself, even if she pays with cruses on B. of E. Keynes' letter intimating that mutty of internat'l finan contracts was a Br invention & ∴ could be ended when the shoe pinches the inventor will not do Gr Br any good. Gr. Br is being made a defaulter by the march of events. She has Lloyd George to thank for it. Her pride will be hurt, & her financial

reputation & power too. She is slowly, before all the world, compelled to admit her financial power less than that of the U.S. — goat for goat.

That will hurt Gr Br in eyes of Indian Princes & Lalbanks, too.

The Row between US & Gr Br will tend to strengthen the Chanchalite & ultra Tories & may end by throwing out Baldwin & Macdonald from Cabinet. This strengthening of the Tories will aid in uniting the N.T.C. & tend to throw India into stronger opposition.

If depression is only temporary or if it is permanent, the next thing to do after I finish my book is to begin to write. It produces something useful; it counts every

into useful form; it puts me to work; it gives me practice; it is on my own initiative & independent of others; it puts me in position of finding what I want, & of later being really useful to U.S. unemployed. Ironically saved by my debt - running, & by Tennessee debt - running.

Might also teach unemployed, prepare material on dirt roads, prepare a very short book comparing Jacobi & K's inventions.

Dec 15. Miss von Patten was in tonight to talk over business prospects. She brought her copy of the tentative plan of the proposed arrangement. She asked the meaning of the clause about repaying the $1500 debt plus to Marie, & both N and I said that the clause meant what it said, - that her salary came

but that the entire suit would have to be reargued before any profit could be taken by either.

First, I then she raised some questions about the amount of cloth, the width of this apartment, the storage of her Hartford furniture. Nonie explained that the lease ran to May 1 and therefore that any moving must be done during July. (Her Hartford lease expires on June 1. So if she has to store any furniture it need not be for more than one month.

We discussed how bad the crimes is and Nonie said it was the worst now in her experience. Ben said that "By then (the spring) we may neither of us want to go on with the plan."

Nonie Boyer remarked that he didn't see how she could go

back to Hartford. Nonie ~~said~~ said she thought that Bess could go back, if she wanted to and time improve. Bess demurred on the ground of her public announcement of her leaving there. Nonie said, But lots of people have had to withdraw this year and intend to get back into business. Said yes, & cited an instance I know. Nonie cited an instance of a Boston Directress who has done that. Bess said "Why I never thought that could be possible." Nonie said, oh yes, Bess seemed relieved by that thought, and soon ~~got up~~ changed the subject, told some amusing stories, and left.

She said she wanted to talk over some points with Fanny during Christmas. She said she would leave to have a girl who

had some opinions to help her if she goes on, & it might be desirable to bring in such a person in the spring. I replied to the latter that she said that she was not sure whether she could swing it, that even the rent of our apartments might prove too much for her. Nonie agreed that we might all go bankrupt by spring & that it was all uncertain, & that nothing could be figured till the situation improved greatly and we knew what we could do and whether we could go ahead. Ben read most unfeelingly. When the idea of Bess planning to Hartford was broached, Bess said that of course the overhead expense down

there would be very much brighter. Voice
agreed.

It is reported that now only one large
Indian State and a ~~very~~ few very small ones
are reported now as opposing Federation.
Probably that State is Hyderabad, though it
may be Baroda.

Henry Austin - "Experiences Facing Death"
- "Everyman's Genius"
- "Small Town Man"

"Without confidence in Providential
provision and guidance, the Christian
religion is unworkable". - Bishop Banerji

From A.R. D'Arcy - "The Art of Reading"
(Farrar & Rinehart) p. 305. "Mysticism, if it means
anything, means immediacy of knowledge as
distinct from mediacy or knowledge through a
medium. It means, comparatively, knowledge at
first hand as against knowledge at second
hand; and second hand has included knowledge
by reasoning, by observation, by deduction, by, in
fact, every recognized method known. ---
--- The mystic, --- knows the fact, and proves
his knowledge not only by acting upon it, but
by being unable to act as if he did not know
it! A little reflection will show that the
negative test is one of far more importance than
the positive. Any of us, blind worms that
we are, may hold, for instance, that honesty is
the best policy, and act upon the assumption
ninety-nine times out of a hundred; but the
hundredth will find out faith shaking,

because our conception, after all, is not knowledge immediate of the fact, but knowledge mediate". [Not a good illustration, because it - built that entails the knowledge action, more than knowledge].

—

See "Potentiality for Western Readers" by Donald Stephens, M.A.

—

Op. cit., p. 326. "When the question of education comes to be discussed, the theory of the real picture mental power is not easy, and in practice the assumption we make is of the need to exercise rather than the need to exercise faculty". What about lessons, for instance, are given in our schools in the art of judgment? Or in the art of imagination? Or in the art of generalization? Or in the art of thought itself. What species of a positive value are provided for the isolated faculty of sense, memory, moral judgment,

or the activity of the spirit of poetics?
--- [cf. Whitney's Hindu Mind Training]

p. 27 --- "Or let us take the faculty of imagination which in essence is the power to perceive what is absent from the senses. I am pretty sure that it would be possible to design simple exercises calculated to develop this faculty directly, and not merely mediately through the memory. Poetry, in particular, is a storehouse of material for this purpose. Suppose, for example, that a poem were read aloud, and children were required to visualize and to describe the scenes suggested and related to it — would not the habit of active imagination be formed and thus one day ~~the habit of active imagination be formed~~ imagination become the constant partner of thought in general? Or — a much more

diffficult subject - consider the power of the mind we call intuition — perception of the innerdiscipline of things. Is it part the limit of educationists to devise positive exercises, beginning with exercises in guessing, the aim of which should be to accustom the mind to seeing its inner sense?"

—

A. R. Orage "Psychological Exercises" - Francis Rivelant, Pub. $1.25.

p. 45. "Imagination is the ability to recall images from Memory; it also includes the ability to combine Images so called in new forms. ... Thus Thinking pre-supposes Imagination; Imagination pre-supposes Memory; Memory pre-supposes Sensation; and Sensation pre-supposes an optimal world as the original source of sense impressions. There powers within the human people are at present mainly unconscious. ... The aim of education is to make them increasingly conscious."

"New French Cooking" by Paul Reboux $2.50
Rudolph. NY

"The French Chef in Private American Families"
by Xavier Martin NO 1922. Rand McNally, Chicago

"Rare Recipes Old & New" John C. Winston
Co., Phila, 1923

In Dr. Jung's "Psychological Types" there
are theories for improving one's memories,
for improving the memory. In the memory
theories some are for visual memory, some for
auditory memory, taste memory, smell memory,
touch memory, and for combinations of these,
some for these combinations, some new &
~~unsuspected~~ ones. Also some memories of
emotions, and of intellectual states & faculties.
Some of these memory theories are theories for
imagination also.

If such action would aim to increase individual & mass consumption & consuming power among its own people, foreign trade would cease to be so important, & international frictions would die down. Gandhi's economics are this.

The money & credit reforms like Orage & Douglas are right in giving premier importance to money, as the weakest point of capitalism, but wrong in thinking they can reform it by merely mechanical, intellectual methods. Not enough emotional urge, and the people as a whole cannot join in. Gandhi's method of N.V.R. gives the masses a power of resistance that will and the power of fasts to test ardently and will thus be a major attack on capitalism.

The agricultural authorities of Great Britain agree that G.B. could produce 80%

of her own food. Sir Charles Fielding, the Director-General of Food Supplies during the War, in his book 'Food', which contains an elaborate investigation of the subject, thinks that in case of necessity G. Br. could entirely ~~feed itself~~ grow its own food. Speaking on the modern scientific, Sir Daniel Hall argued, on the assumption that we were willing to change our diet (to prefer bread and potatoes sometimes as much bread to produce food in the form of meat is it requires to produce it in the form of cereals."

Just as in Russia, capitalism, industrialism have not struck deep roots in India. ∴ Revolution is easier there than in other western countries.

N.V.R. will enable an agricultural nation to struggle successfully against an industrial nation; or the farmers to contend successfully in the city. Its use would have altered the outcome of the U.S. Civil War.

A.R. Orage - The New English Weekly
38, Cursitor St., London, E.C. 4

The Socialists cannot have an egalitarian society without getting rid of the artificial devices which create inferiority complexes.

Re Lewis's objection to Hitler's test for giving education, isn't it rather a power to be given to everyone & then we learn how to use it by exercising, just as in the case of

political power to people, or freedom & responsibility to young people? Moral condition, the state of the heart is also a kind of power. Should we add mental power to the moral power before moral power is O.K.? We do not give all power to children until they seem to be ready to pay the price. Why not also with education?

N's illness following two long times of worry shows conclusively that X's "take no thought for the morrow" is very wise hygiene. Also shows that the whole ethic of the Sermon on the Mt & the Gita is necessary for a happy life, a healthy life & a beautiful life. Must have all ~~attention~~ life on ~~detachment~~ unattached love, & carry out life consistently

with that in my detail

Jan 6. The news of bomb explosion at Jaunpur brought Willie, sounds like an attempt by CID to embroil Moslems w Hindus. If so, it's a measure of Br. fright on all-India agreement. Some such attempts are going to get uncovered, perhaps, a win for Br with Moslems for good.

Br. govt wants to present Congress with more of a fait accompli than merely the ordinance in statutory form before releasing Gandhi. But can the British Press will be angry, I think. I think they will wait till new govt of India has put a petition passed by Parl before they release him, this possibly

they are afraid to wait so long.
But if they release him soon
we will march the [illegible] empire
think will Compel their enfranchise-
ment. We will unite [illegible] unity &
[illegible] work on [illegible] lines. Strong
Loyalty. With efficient cooperation,
I think we will carry on with C.D.

Perhaps the idea is to let the
Indian ~~[illegible]~~ puppets show what
they can do to retain Congress.
while Br are still in full
control. Trying out the elections
with papa still on the driver
seat. Very well, all will get
upset.

By putting the puppets on their
mettle ~~[illegible]~~ it will arouse them loyalty
to the Congress. Then finally the

Moderates"; This being done before an election in which Congress would easily overwhelm the Moderates. But I think Gandhi & Congress can spoil this plan & stage a come-back with the peasants that will win the whole scheme. Gandhi's strength will be proved. The Br think we underestimating G's strength again & are fooled by relative quiet among most of peasants at first.

"Meatless Cooking" by Maria McIlvaine Gilmore. E.P. Dutton 1914

Only a people who are not afraid of insecurity (because they believe in eternity of life) have the power to change temporal values. I.e. When middle class have tasted material comforts & security a

would give up all their freedom to retain comfort

My Most Important Books

1. My general note books I to XIX + since 1925
2. Farm note book
3. Diet & health note book
4. Weaving note book.
5. Bhagavad Gita
6. New Testament
7. Upanishads
8. Two commentaries on Gita by A. Ghose.
9. ~~My book on V.R.~~
10. My ms on comparison between X's & Gj's inconsistencies
11. My Gandhi literature (2 shelves)
12. My Encyclopaedias
13. My Gandhianism vs Socialism

14. My farming books
15. My books on diet & health
16. books on weaving
17. " on Hindi
18. Reading books on mysticism & religion.
19. Clippings on farming, diet & health, weaving, Khadi weaving, Gandhi,

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Following the Sermon on the Mount & discipline the best preparation for H.V.R.

We cannot serve both God & Mammon, cannot serve the reality & the symbol entirely. ~~The symbol makes me~~

I am not tempted to use or call in force and to be unpleasant myself when I am trying to protect someone else who is helpless or who has appealed to me for protection or whom I love.

—

Following the Sermon on the Mt is the best preparation & discipline for NVR

—

Violence - NVR imply both involve courage. But the important diff lies in the self-offering of NVR. It takes the poison out of the power which its users may wield. Only thereby the power is used for character

—

The first (Oxford) issue of the Round Table (London) in its Indian

article is devoted almost entirely to two Bn failures & defeats (1) G's fast (2) Bengal terrorism. The latter is a moral victory to both sides, yet the courage of the terrorists is good of itself, & augurs that Bengal's spirit is not broken. ∴ On the whole a healthy sign.

That the correspondent of the R.T. in India was unable to send any Bn gains is symptomatic. Complacent about the surface quiet.

Jan 15. I think that during the next 6 months Bn support from among Moslems & Landlords will greatly weaken, & the Princes, seeing increase of Bn weakness will make stiffer demands for their accession to Federation & thus postpone the matter further. The movement among Moslems will show itself

most thought after publication of the White Paper, probably moved towards.

S - Jan 3, 1932

I like very much to be remembered, Gandhi spoke at morning prayers to the group in part there as follows.

"You have been - " I hope you will continue to have your prayers regularly morning and evening. Let it become a daily obligation and ritual for you. Prayer plays a large part in self-purification and you will see that it will become a valuable asset to you, and will make you very clean. The more you pray sincerely it, the more fearlessness you will experience in daily life, for fearlessness is a sign and proof of self-purification. I do not know

a man or a woman who was on the path of self-purification and was still obsessed by fear. Generally there are two kinds of fear in man's minds, - fear of death and fear of loss of material possessions. A man of prayer and self-purification will shed the fear of death and embrace death as a known companion and will regard all earthly possessions as fleeting and of no account. He will see that he has no right to possess wealth when millions and millions of his fellowmen stalk the land and when there are millions who have to go without a meal. No power on earth can subdue a man who has shed these two fears. But for that purpose the prayer should be a thing of the heart and not a thing of outward demonstration. It must take on daily resort to God, and a prayerful

man is sure to have his heart's desire fulfilled, for the simple reason that he will never have an improper desire. Continue this ritual and you will find entire rest not only on your self but on our country.

Read the little pamphlet a Khadder to see from that practice what about what does will fit into my idea that charkha, as a method of daily work, emphasizes qualitative aspects of life & limits the quantitative aspects. Use this & refer to it in my pamphlet on machinery.

The fact that so many nations have followed the pound sterling means that when India wins her freedom the loss to

the Br will also be lost to those other countries, so that they will turn from us. The Br leadership & the rank will be all the greater.

Run down the result of making discipline a Victorian instrument of Workmanship, to use in my pamphlet.

Quotations from "A Small Town Woman" by Mary Austin, Harpers 1905. A life of A. Only one by a woman.

p. 67-8 "It is impossible not to conclude that the circumstances of great light and space in which she received it, point as much as to the compelling cooperations and interdependence of poverty from which she came, to one the

spurious moral character of the teaching of Jesus:

p. 115. "Though Jesus condemned chastity a matter of mind as well as body, he made no more of impurity from it than of other sins, and forgave them as readily. He put the desire of the flesh on a par with the same moral footing as the greed of wealth and the lust of pride, neither condemning it more severely, as the church has done, nor more easily, as is the way of the world."

114-20 -- Re rich young man, -- "It appears, not only from circumstances such as these, but from what immediately follows, that it was not the possession of riches which Jesus denounced, but the attachment to them; for they [illegible]

or to put in the same category, brothers — I
mean, parents — & children: —
T he does upon wealth, as against the
dedication to the spirit, is only not
Jesus'."

122. "The kingdom of heaven" was any-
thing that might imply separation of
what is good from what is evil, the
deliberate choice of the soul. — It
was in being all the child was, trusting,
loving, evil, thanking, all-
loving, glad. The kingdom of heaven
proceeded from the heart & mind — it
was not affected by material observances.

138. "Whether it is called tribute or
modernly disguised as 'splendid
giving', it is only where sacrifice

cease to be the soul's voluntary function and becomes a habit, that the priesthood allows to temporal powers.

134 "He had prayed that death might be turned aside, but not that he himself should turn aside from it. What distinguished him from all the other Leaders of the Movement was the close correspondence between his will and his perception, so that he is seen to move forward in his appointed path with none of the fumbling and heaviness of other men. He had none of the feeling of moral helplessness which characterizes reformers of our time. — He appeals to a man the completeness of his existence

ulation, but there is no evidence that he
suffered ridicule."

156. "Too much is always made of the
defection of the traitor, and not enough of
the fact that Jesus possessed, and
his touch on them. Not only did Jesus
refuse their aid in this crisis but it
is not of record that he referred to
them again, not for them, left any
message. To them the Word had
been committed; the last thing he
could have wished would be to im-
plicate them in his disaster."

107 "No ~~one~~ way is hard when there is a
single heart,
No is there any wound where the thoughts are
sought,
No is there any storm in the depths of silence

noted thought

"When One is surrounded on every side by beauty, there is nothing that is limited:
the likeness of that which is below is that which is above.
For anything is done, what is below is nothing but the imagination of that real and without knowledge."

Emily Dickinson

"To be a mystic is to have well developed within yourself, and to make habitual use of a faculty which in the man is but slightly unfolded. Mysticism is a way of life; a practical, life-loving attitude for all the life performance,

or for a particular department of living.

194. The ta

"We owe the formulation of obligation toward this energy, under which all geniuses act."

198. "You hold this concept of God not as a definition, or an idea, but as a habit of active awareness as close to his daily life as the milk of the glucose to the outside. (He used it; passing from healing to knowing, and from God to foreknowing, and past question, though the accounts of his doing are cloudy, to a sufficient control over his immediate material supply. But clearly, he taught that this is a proper use of godliness in man, and he himself not as an adept, as totally

believed, but as an apprentice "greater things than these shall ye do after me."

200 Knowing God as spirit, and love — the ends of his being, and man as a partaker of God's nature, Jesus declared man to be a partaker of God's powers. More than any man before or since, Jesus came teaching that the ideal is the practical. All those high words which laid open the extreme prerogatives of saints and prophets he meant to be shared of the common use and possession. Mind, Spirit, whatever it is constituting the fundamental oneness of God and man, the establishment of the daily union

mind, sensible to the sound and the unheard. God is as far as air, and human as close at hand as breathing, much as in Jerusalem.

203 Jesus went to have refused both the unbecoming request of the people of the locality with the people of the political, & that the part that negation plays in running this argument. By a single incident of the demoniac that the disciples could not heal, we are made to know that he refused the necessity of a mild and dull state of mind on the part of the healer, and briefly, that prayer & fasting were the means used to attain that state. ~~Matthew~~ Also, though he left us not a hint as to

his techniques, he should himself
acquainted with the relation of
bodily health to psychic disorder,
and a normal, human way of
dissipating one by resolving
other.

"Neither did he have any techniques
for exhorcism which he regarded
also as normal for all who were
willing to accept it as normality.

"There was no limitation to the
power of God in man, and therefore
no concept of limitation was to
be allowed to the inner disciple.
Likewise there was to be no limi-
tation of obedience to the inward
monitor. Prevention, discipline,
family relationships, love and
convention were finally to be

204

not evil at every point in which they impeded the free play of the divine nature in man.

205. To Jesus there was no such thing as a moral life apart from the life of the spirit. The more closely we examine his teaching the more apparent that these moral ends had no value except as values of the Spirit, or as aids in maintaining the necessary flowing of spirit. Good and evil were not to be thought of as attributes of external opinion, nor by conformity with the rules of an institution, nor even with a previous revelation. Acts, states of mind, were good or evil only as they helped or hindered that harmonious interrelation of God and man, within

and without which the kingdom of heaven. Spirit of man, and appetites of the flesh, anger and the natural affections, were to be cut off when and because they were found to be impeding. Lust and pride and anger and hatred and envy were defiling because they defiled, clouded, the inner life in which alone God becomes knowledgeable. They were not sins, they were simply encumbrances. There was but one sin - the refusal to abide in and by the inner motion

Repent" means a going back to the point of starting and starting over again." It is not not "in any kind of a spirit of regret".

210 Jesus set up no claim to divinity other than he set up on behalf of every other man.

220 "It is impossible to find in the gospels any ground for believing that Jesus was ever interested in moral or political reorganization for its own sake, any more than he was primarily interested in morals. He was interested in the life of God in man. He was interested in society inasmuch as it was made up of the children of God, but he failed to conceive of society as a thing in itself.

having to own spiritual forms and forms, - groups round, calling for a profounder quality of illumination. Here the finish does not appear. For with the passing day, moral effectiveness slips out of an adequate concept of group mindedness.

"As for our ultimate hope to find in his teachings, the still more ultimate futility of our attempt to make out of them an adequate frame and technique of group relationship is symptomized chiefly by our refusal to accept one item of that teaching which was never absent from his mind, the knowledge of the incompleteness of his revelation. He knew and he

mind, not only that there was that which because of their human limitation could not be communicated to his disciples, but that there was more to be revealed:

John 14. People may think that with the pop has gone out of the Indian motion. But remember that the ministry is on very strong so we have very little. Besides that there is there reason for believing that it will go steadily on

1 Cor 11. In the entire history more Pope has started a movement of self-purification & it is gone very deep & wide. Hindus are concentrating on it at present, but soon it will have political effects. It not only unifies the castes but the

rich + poor + the city + country. Also it mollifies the Moslems. Women are deeply + strongly engaged in it, as in the rest of the National movement. It XVII 154-5 with aid in extension of it movement.

(5) 2. The Akalehud part, though not completely successful, will gather strength + conviction + be the best preparation for wild opposition to White Paper. Govt opposition to it will strengthen the opposition of all communities in Govt. Will weaken Moslem die-hards. (you already have it).

(10)(4) 3. For the first time in history of Bn connection there is a strong Bn movement in England on the Govt policy.

4. The opening of debate in Parl on the bill as well as publication of the White Paper will start Bn

prohibitions going again: & will develop split in England.

(9) (~~10~~) 5. The drain of gold will continue at least until July & probably all thru '33, because prices will stay low till then & the $ will stay low also. This will strengthen Indian financial support of Congress, harden Indian intransigent & finance an Br. policy, & explain landlords' anti opposition on govt. 99, 96, 112, 113, 115, 116

(14) 6. England is in delicate situation financially. Powerful ec. & polit. forces want low both inside & outside the Empire. Cf. Canadian position & struggle with other countries over gold & trade. Her total 1932 trade is reported £50 M adverse, i.e. a rather capital loss.

7. Moslems are deeply split — & all ground on standstill, losing support.

118. Congress is absolutely the strongest

not organised
and thought not. part in India
still. Anti-Indian but complex
Quite different.

(2) 9. The Natal movement of ordinary
native opposition to Government pro-
posals.

(3) 10. The 3d R.I.C. satisfied now but a
few months. Pinda & Moodeley
both satisfied, Indian deputy so.
∴ In proportion to carry many
people from Congress.

(4) 11. All the younger men of all com-
munities must unite, & older ones
die off. Gandhi may die in
another 5 yrs but we will be
older Moslems.

(5) 12. The Mr. Amir Ali tradition
& desire for self govt is strong in
all groups.

(6) 13. The Indian movement is part

an all-Asiatic movement in the W. E.

(16) 14. J of Japan — po is now known it's an organized mass movement.

(8) 15. Congress program & method is the only one that will work & the only one that the masses in villages respond to. c/f p 11c

15. If Br. Cabinet — any change in U.S. with debts all opening, there will be a good chance of making a mistake in India.

16. Siegfried says Br. have learned nothing out of the depression. If so, this complacency will be rudely upset by the stir in India when it comes.

17. Br. are still competing & arousing themselves with rivalry in the eternal division among Indians. A warning hope.

(12) 18. The very fact that Br are highly disciplined

and so strongly [illegible] & follows their leaders, is now because of ownership & control of their leaders, a weakness. [illegible] p. 31 The nation is blindly supporting policies which are destroying all possibility of ever having Br. control & partners of any trade for ever any time to come. Br. investments or prestige in [illegible] is another weakness.

(11) 19 During the spring & summer, when decision of [illegible] problem becomes open & tense in England, & when the important decisions have to be made, the divisions among Br. people as to policy will become much deeper, wider and more of them: British disunity will increase as [illegible] unity diminishes. XVII 14b 26, 120-1

(13) 20. Of. p 36

(5) 21. Br. Br. have looked to support of "moderns, moderates, Swedenborg, Non-Parliamentarians in S., Protestants. Each and all of these groups are now either extinct in numbers or in desire or ability to support Br. S. XVIII 114

(4) 24. [illegible] It is [illegible] very true that Gandhi would not be elected until after World Peace & more probably till after war is ended. Military [illegible], U.S. & the Kingdom personal hostility, Jap. air mailing, factor, too. From [illegible] powers demonstrated last autumn.

"What I spent, I had; what I gave, I have; what I kept, I lost."

That is because the real things are not material, but spiritual relationships, especially (in oppression) between human beings. ~~The~~ Humanity is one. To treat it ~~=~~ as one by sharing ~~=~~ giving ~~=~~ is to keep mingling worth while. To treat it ~~=~~ as separate entities, selfishly, is to lose the essence ~~=~~ ∴ also the accidents. ~~To give~~ Giving creates human response of unity ~~=~~ trust ~~=~~ reality, and results inevitably in a return, either present and tangible or ~~=~~ in a sense of contact with reality which is comforting and sustaining through all illness or blindness or death.

This results in security for simple living ~~=~~ is the answer to all the machine civilization so far as it is unnatural by

many many. It is not necessary
but wrong to One can give of all
things without many

Quotations from "Everyman's Genius"
by Mary Austin Bobbs Merrill -
1925. '25

Interest in my subject is an index
of the power to experience, but necessity
of the power to create in that field.

72 "It is difficult to be patient with the
prevailing modern fear of pain, because
pain is the best evidence that the experience
has taken through the ego into the
impersonal, subjective-self, where it can be
transmuted into the materials of creative art.
Our painful experiences are generally the
most informing, and while they need
not be sought, they should never be

deliberately avoided."

84 "The greatest advantage in early contacts with the Unconscious, is the formation of a correct taste and an ideal of achievement."

104. "An intelligently planned course in the part played by suggestion and autosuggestion, prayer, meditation and unconscious creation should be open to every student in every department of creative endeavor."

117. "The great practical consideration of the individual psyche is the establishment of working relations between the conscious-self, and the deep-self."

120. "It sounds like paradox to say that one must learn consciously to become unconscious; but this is precisely what the creative worker does and has been doing since the dawn of self-consciousness. Everyone who has ever waked himself up at a

precise term in order to catch a moving train, has done the same thing.

121-2 "... We have to think of the intelligence as a faculty of the immediate-self, by which all objective experience may be dealt with. ... The content of the immediate-self is almost entirely objective, its mode is abstraction. The content of the deep-self is experience stripped of its objectivity, reduced to potentiality; its mode is wholly subjective. It is this difference in mode which accounts for something now discovered long before there was any science of psychology - that problems presented to the deep-self are solved more easily and correctly than they are solved by the method of abstraction."

p. 125. "The best and almost the only method of manufacturing talents is to

inform and culture and train it by reasonable methods. And the one possible way of dealing with the deep-self, which is the source of genius, is by suggestion, since you cannot by any means of reason reach with the subconscious.

126. "There are three generally recognized methods of affecting the psyche by suggestion; environmental suggestion, which may include the deliberate suggestiveness of parents and teachers, as well as the whole social complex to which one is born; auto-suggestion, which may be deliberate and not necessarily conscious; and M. Coué's 'induced auto-suggestion' by which he means the auto-acceptance of the physician's suggestion, framed to suit the patient's desires, is finally accomplished. I should also ~~class~~ include under this heading

tion the unformulized act of suggestion you lay yourself open to when you go to hear the Tales of Hoffmann in order to reawaken your appreciation for romantic passion, or what I go after, walking in the Pantheon I and down Town. But none of these methods of suggestion will work in any department of consciousness except to the degree that the selected area is suggestible.

"This means that auto-suggestion will work perfectly in the deep-self which is wholly subjective. It will work much less perfectly, if at all, in the immediate self. Talents, therefore, and what we call the intellectual faculties, being born in the pattern of the immediate self — can be affected scarcely at all, either in

their scope + finality by autosuggestion. -- There
is very little to be accomplished for adult patient
by suggestion, and that little only at the
point where the immediate self passes into
and identifies itself with the deep self.
By the proper suggestion applied at this
point, patient might become much more
amiable, more amenable to objective train-
ing; a quick and permanent command
over it might be established. But it
would remain unchanged in scope and
totality.

"Just how much more

See also in this book pp. 130-132,
137, 145, 148-9, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 175, 178,
185, 220, 188, 197-8, 203, 221, 223, 231,
260, 273, 279, 312, 326, 329, 340.

"Render unto Caesar" etc may mean that to the extent that you (cooperate w. Caesar) & accept the benefits of his rule you must ~~not~~ yield acquiescence & support to him, - but no further. So quit accepting benefits & then you are free.

June 27. The Weekly Review of Jan 14 says that Japan & to are ~~plagues~~ trying to win support for mrs Contt but know they can't succeed unless Gandhi & all others are released. Have told Home is very favourably. But Viceroy & I.C.S. are hostile personally to G & object. Probably Home only half believes Japan. Viceroy & his council value G's influence better than the London crowd & are afraid to release the prisoners. Otherwise Viceroy personally thinks G. & co must be released, I guess. So Moderates will fail to win any following & Br. Tories will stiffen afterwards. Meanwhile the W.C. Rev says that Congress is quietly organising all over India & is steadily moving left. Have suspended mass demonstrations. But many arrests &

small demonstrations around a police station in the make in villages, so the fruit has not ripened sufficiently. Meanwhile Gandhi in the untouchability movement has split the parties of S. India & weakened the landowners & orthodox conservatives. By appealing to their highest & best natures he has split them up. Shows how much wiser a politician he is than Jawaharlal, in uniting all the elements in the country. Not a civic spirit, but a moral & religious one.

That fast has counted to introduce the law into legislature shows partly its weakness for it will try to soothe it then, but also its sensitiveness to public opinion in world & in India. A slight of position. Requires it must move in order to keep support of Moslems as well as

even it certainly would block them under new Constt. the new Constl amendment to protect minorities, supposedly, it would not do even for Govt to fail to protect minorities.

the best Hindus. If it broke legislature now, I think,

If moderates cannot win support for themselves & the new Constt, because if all are kept in prison, then they will get one at Govt & talk again. And not enough measure of ability can be found to work it.

The difficulty of finance increases steadily & cumulatively. Most of the provinces are very badly in deficit & Bombay is said to be on edge of insolvency. The army is squeezing all normal functions of govt to the wall, - it is in every country, only more so in India. The Brs. & the U.S. have all suffered cuts & cost recoups. The further retrenchment will be made by discharging Indians & lowering Indian pay, thereby making more incontented Indians & widening

the morale of the staff & ensuing friction & some waste & expense. If [illegible] Indians & [illegible] Br will each remain, at a time when the difficulties require more able men who are more able. More mistakes will be made, of policy & practice, in routine & in emergencies in India

The Br missions men are getting rid at great tariff & great expense. Also more apprehension about Indian discrimination against them. Some men are getting rid at Indian great tariff. But the great loss to great B is compelled to impose tariff on all kinds of Br as well as other imports.

The Western Electric (a Trust formed by) shows that Br business men are getting worried about their investments in India & yet advise that if they are to hold what they have they must put in a lot more.

If govt imposes the new tariff without
support Indian support the Br will have to
do most of the running, will have to be
imposing more things on Indian opposition,
& so the friction will mount & if the
number of Indians who aid will become
fewer & fewer & of lower calibre.

What will happen if J is released?

The fact that Com of 17 of League of Nations,
with no Lytton Commission, approve of boycott
at least as a nation using force, is moral
support to Indian Congress.

The fact that young Tories, of Week end
Rev. of Jan 14, are urging release of political
prisoners is significant. The dangers of Br
policy are beginning to penetrate intelligent Tory
ranks. But it will take more than that
to budge the I.C.S. They really control,
for they can & will threaten resignation

if Jordan puts pressure on them in this matter. The District Commissioners realise the troubles they would have, also they & the Viceroy have committed themselves so heavily & so many times to repression & not until Indians are about ready to take over will a suitable face-saving excuse be provided for going back on former policy of ~~Gandhi~~ Gandhi will not forswear S.D.

I expect that by ~~next~~ summer Indian joint finances will be so bad & Indian unity so much greater that Pal will be frightened & refuse to yield control at the centre at all. Then Indian moderates may exist again, & the chances of Br withdrawal & change is slim that Moderates ~~will last for good~~ Moslem landslide only forgotten Moderates & Jonah vomits out of office . . to

When a nations ~~is defeated~~ has been conquered it usually adopts

After a war, both sides are apt to adopt the methods & policies & theories of the other that seem to have been most effective in the struggle. E.g. allies took on militarism. So after [illegible] is defeated by India, perhaps [illegible] will be the first (the Western nations to adopt Ahimsa.

If I do not want to be a bourgeois then I must give up the comfort standard of living & definitely work out a standard of simplicity of living which I will not exceed. Must cover clothing, type & size of home, home furnishings, food, kind of transport, kind & nature of reading, extent of travel, kind & extent of amusement & recreation,

Sir. S. Hoare has insisted that opponents of Govt's policy will fail because they cannot offer a more workable scheme. But the Die Hards do not believe that. If they can muster the votes in Parl they will ruin the plan. what if Die Hards in H of L refuse to pass the govt's plan, as result of their being stronger there than in H of C. ? or

If a famine should break out in India it would be difficult for Br to explain it away.

Might Br plan to use the famine & other issues at next election under new cabt, to prevent Congress meetings & break up Cong again. But I think it would result in bitter outbreak of C.D. all over India & ruin all chances of new Indian puppets.

If Congress gets much stronger in Br. P., the Princes will form Federation except on impossible

terms, i.e. terms that even Indian Moderates would agree.

If India office must go, should, but I very much doubt it, the India office might therefore retire in favour under new Govt, but does not do so because then no able men would take the jobs. So I.C.S would win, but then there would be friction between London & Delhi & much trouble. This would probably develop by next autumn if at all. Probably all Sir Stuart & younger Tories would be sore at I.C.S. & would become more worried about effect on Br. world prestige.

The new Indian Govt at its best, can only obtain a stalemate. But it will not do that much, but may fail.

The Muslim dream of once more ruling

India is ripe for one more Revolution themselves have greatly changed since then, deeply influenced by Hindoos. Also Hindoos far more timid.

Bx by making Ordinances into Statute law can deny Bxpn the chance of demanding their suppression as precondition of negotiations. But Viceroy can suspend any laws he really wants to, so Bxpn could demand their suppression. But this difficulty will surely make Bxpn alter his offer in his other demands, and his experience with breakdown of Inter-pact will make him very stiff.

I suspect Sastri is really broken-hearted & has entirely lost faith in Bx. He is more attractively sensitive than Jayakar & Jayakar.

Feb 6. Sir Herbert Samuel & his followers have left the Govt, & that will make possible more criticism of Govt's policies & more agitation in country. Thus the hearts of more Englishmen are made capable of changing, even tho the Govt itself does not yet change. The increase of Br. criticism will tend to increase foreign criticism & will encourage Indians in Britain & out of it.

Lord Goschen's admission, "that Indian problem is hardest that any govt has ever been called on to solve is a tribute to the genius of M.V.R. He is a close friend of Mrs Sarojini. Those two would get on.

Feb 7. The meeting on the 9th week of Nov will unite the tribes, - militancy, non-cooperation & make them oppose Gandhi's plans still more strongly.

My N.V.R. book will help end the Br contention that Gandhi is not a practical politician, that he does not offer a working system of govt. My pamphlet is specially that.

After the efforts in India fail again, i.e. in spring, summer or autumn, the U.S. will get much more discouraged.

If world power left, will that stop the Indian revolution? No. First, they will not left substantially till at least mid summer, when World Conference is scheduled. By then too many middle class & peasant Indians will have been completely disillusioned about Br & her promises. In fact much of that will have been accomplished by April pitting, if Br

publish the White Paper then. If they postpone the White Paper longer, the disillusionment will have happened merely because of the postponement. Second, by analysing the various points which we have listed, my friend will see that them will be offset by a change in world prices. Such a change will not alter the Ordinances or the White Paper, the unalterable movement or the established Brit. Rule; it will not alter the desire for trade & financial security & prestige. It will not alter Jewish immigration. It will not alter the efficiency of the H.V.R. nor of the desire for self govt. In fact, the increase in prosperity of Jews will be so much greater that Arab desire for advancement will grow even stronger. It will not stop Jewish immigration, or the inflow of gold from India, nor will it stop the increase in Arab & Jewish wealth. Jews will still be under pressure economically & financially from

other countries and U.S. The ownership will still be on a No discipline. The ~~power~~ desire of gold will have left the Indian people so much power that the slightest effort of power will not cause to become the masses to be free.

The R.T. + F in our report to the 3d R.T.C. admitted very great financial difficulties for proposed new govt. So even if it gets under way its powers will be circumscribed to find new help than its hands are tied.

Consider the Indian conflict solely as an economic one, - is it for removal of capitalism? If so, will capitalism survive, fall or be modified? I think it will be very deeply modified. It seems as a thing among Indians.

What chances of success & to prevailing among the Rt wing of Congress. They have said now, under Gandhi is abroad. And if

he is abused, he will make the attempt ineffective.

Points from Gustave Le Bon's "Behavior of Crowds" - Harpers, 1920.

Conflict - a big element in formation of a crowd. A crowd is not merely a lot of people but a lot of people in a certain state of mind.

") - the crowd the primitive type. acts on its wish by actually gaining the assent & support of a section of society. The immediate mind movement is all pulled in the same direction - the unconscious drive - hypno is more of what is being done, only the real significance of the thing

is charged. -- The mind-being united and into going upward of the things it would [illegible]. -- A mind is a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together. Mind ideas can be built up by suppressing in order.

Will to power often gratifies itself in moral indignation. Alumni associations great to be positive - mind ego conscious and enlarged self-feeling. All, in struggle groups.

47-50 Martin defines a crowd. (1) "The crowd is not the same as the masses, or any chance or gathering of people as such, but is a certain mental condition which may occur sometimes easily to people in any gathering or association. (2) This condition is not the 'collective mind'. It is a release of repressed impulses which is made possible because certain controlling ideas have ceased to function

in the immediate social environment. (3) The modification in the immediate social environment is the result of mutual concessions on the part of persons whose unconscious impulses to do a certain forbidden thing are unitedly disguised as sentiments which meet with conscious moral approval. (4) Such a general disguising of the real motive is a characteristic phenomenon of dreams and of mental pathology, and occurs in the crowd by fixing the attention of all present upon the abstract and general. Attention is thus held diverted from the individual's personal associations, permitting thus associations and the accompanying impulses to function unconsciously. (5) The abstract ideas so entertained become symbols of meanings which are

unrecognized; they form a closed system, like the divisions of the grammarian, and as the whole group are then moved in the same direction, the 'compulsory' logic of law also moves forward without those social checks which normally keep us within bounds of the real. Hence, acting and thinking in the crowd become stereotyped and 'ceremonial'. Individuals move together like automatons. (6) As the unconscious cliffy contents of that part of our nature which is habitually opened by the social, and there is always, therefore, an unconscious tendency to this repressive form, it follows that the crowd tends, like the neurosis, to a mechanism of escape and of compensation. It also follows that the crowd-spirit will even more commonly in efforts to get those social forms where repression is greatest, - in matters

political, religious and moral. (7) The crowd-mind is then not a mere state of emotion on the part of people who have abandoned 'reason'; crowd-delusion is in a sense psychopathic and has many elements in common with somnambulism, the compulsion neurosis, and even paranoia. (8) Crowds may be either temporary or permanent in their existence. Permanent crowds, with the aid of the press, determine in greater or less degree the mental contents of nearly everyone."

Unconscious self-deception is a moral phenomenon. Self-adulation of crowds, with an accompanying will to be important to dominate. Every organized crowd is jealous of its dignity and honor and is fond of keeping up appearances. Nothing is more fatal to it than a wounded amour

upon its prestige. The profound desire of the crowd thus attention away from the unmanful compromise of the crowd-poet's momentary efforts which the crowd had enabled him to make

A nation at war is the classic example of a killing crowd. Its suppressed hate & suppressed homicidal wishes. National honor - chip on shoulder. Every crowd is against someone, i.e. is ~~seeking~~ seeking a release of its suppressed hates. Hatred helps the self-feeling

One important difference between the crowd-mind & the psychosis - the first tend while the psychic mechanisms of the latter were to disguise the undignified repressed wish, those of the crowd-mind permit the escape of the repressed impulse by choosing the form which demands the repression - namely, the immediate social environment. This

the crowd hates in order that it may believe in itself.

"The real point at issue between the dominant round and the under round is the assumed personal superiority of the former, rather than the economic exploitation which it practises." I feel that Fascism was led by bourgeois and that leading element - working class today consists not of down-and-out, out of workers of better paid, more highly skilled trades + of certain intellectuals who are not 'proletarian' at all. -- The fiction of superiority of the dominant round, --- is created by the under crowd because it is really recognised by the under crowd. --- because that is precisely the sort of personal superiority to which they also aspire. [? of w. N.V.R. get rid of that

dominant human it must aspire to a different kind of domination. The ruling class is as much a crowd as is the insurrectionary mob. A revolution is the establishing of a new crowd. The transference of the ownership of property — times of revolution by new class is not an end, it is a means to a new crowd's social dominance.

"A revolution occurs when the dominant crowd begins to weaken", — not when it is guilty of spinelessness or outrage.

— "A gradual loss of prestige on the part of the dominant crowd; the same inability of this crowd to change with the change of time; to find new solutions for itself when the old ones were no longer believed; the same unadaptability, the same intellectual and moral lumbering, therefore; the same gradual disintegration from within; the

same result to sentimentalism and ineffectual use of force, the same circle of hungry counter-crowds waiting around with their tongues hanging out, ready to pounce upon that upon which they had previously pounced, and to justify their ravenousness as devotion to principle; the same growing fearlessness, beginning as perfectly loyal desire to reform certain abuses incidental to the existing order, and advancing, with every sign of disillusionment or weakness, to mood indignation, open attack upon fundamental control ideas, bitter hostility, augmented by the repressive measures taken by the dominant crowd to conserve a status quo which no longer gained assent in the minds of a growing counter-crowd; finally force, and a new dominant crowd more merciful

now in justifying old tyrannies by principles not yet successfully challenged."

"Nothing but unless misery can result from dividing crowd against crowd. Crowd-thinking does not solve problems. It only creates ideal compensations and defense devices for our inner conflicts. Conservative crowd-behavior has always done quite as much as anything else to precipitate a revolutionary outbreak. Radical crowd-behavior does not evolve the situation, it only inverts it. Any real solution has wholly outside present crowd-dilemmas. The social situation demands a different kind of thinking, -- a increasing number of people who understand themselves and are intellectually and morally independent of the tyranny of crowd-ideas.

"The idea of the revolution is to the crowd a symbol, the function of which is compensation for the burdens of the struggle for existence, for the feeling of social inferiority, and for desires suppressed by civilization. It is an imaginary escape from hard reality, a new-world system in which the ego seeks refuge, a defense mechanism under the compulsive influence of which crowds behave like somnambulistic individuals. It is the explosion of the to-be-under crowd fury and the transcendental expression and gratification of its will to rule. It is made up of just those crowd generalizations which are of use in keeping that crowd together. It gives the raw crowd emotion its fight with the old": ... "On the whole, the

idea that revolutions help the progress of the race is a hoax. When advancement has been achieved in freedom, in intelligence, in ethical values, in art or science, in consideration for humanity, in legislation, it has in each instance been achieved by unique individuals, and has spread chiefly by personal influence, never gaining assent except among those who have come to recreate the new values won in their own experience." -- "The kind of people who have an inner craving to regulate their neighbors, the kind who cannot accept the fact of their psychic inferiority and must consequently make crowds by way of compensation, would have to be content to mind their own business." "I suspect that the symptoms which certain authorities, and bourgeois

writes also, shows for democracy is less the lesson of mixed rule as such, than dislike of any control pass over to a crowd other than their own."

"The crowd-mind is a desire for 'kidding' ourselves, for representing the road path to the enhancement of our self-feeling as something highly moral, for making our personal right appear like universal righteousness, for closing up our mind to lead it over others, as if it were devotion to impersonal principle." "Man is a valuing animal."

Br. refused to release Gandhi until make the Indian Moderates more [illegible] a lot of them [illegible]. It ended [illegible] the other

delegates helpless.

The fact that Parliament is so strongly controlled by the Conservative party means that Br. policy will be unchanged & that India will win.

It is true that Indian industrialists are afraid of a popular rebellion against them, & they are not helping Congress too much, yet Br. repression is slowly driving them to take their chances with the Congress rather than stay with Br. Prefer gamble w.r.t. to Br. violence.

The author of "Storm over Asia" points out that if Br lose India, all Asia & probably Africa will get free from white domination. This means the end of big markets for capitalism & a great blow at capitalism.

means much more re self-reliance of each nation, & a renaissance of agriculture. i.e. the greater importance of home. So Bapu's Hindu-Muslim unity & hatred does manifest in other places besides India. Of course it means end of supremacy of white race. Triumph of N.V.R. will create entirely different type of State & of world economic organization from any the world has yet seen.

No doubt Br Tories realize much of this, so it is no wonder that they fight against it with all their might. But their very opposition acts to thrown them, for they are against a form of jiu-jitsu.

Maybe Japan's boycott will squeeze Lancashire out of the market & the depression also keeps Indian millowners

from becoming too powerful, so that when India gains her freedom Khadi can jump in & the N.V.R., peacefully keep the mills under control.

N.V.R. will either give political power to a new class or create a classless society. I think the latter. India will get a long headstart in a new kind of State.

Notes re John Strachey "The Coming Struggle for Power". Victor Gollancz, Ltd, 14 Henrietta St, Covent Garden, London, 1932.

He points out that capitalism needs a free market in things & in labour. Free market was created by violence, in smashing old economic relations & the classes that imposed & maintained them. Also violence was used to

dispossess the workers from their means of production, - land, (By enclosures) also to keep the workers "in bond". Also to conquer new markets and lands containing sources of raw material. Also to fight wars.

Every attempt Soviets now are not disposing powers in order to create an industrial proletariat that must do their will

Often the growth of "national" wealth only means taking it away from individuals & pooling it. The total wealth is not increased, - only monopolized in a few pools. The idea these pools may be used to stimulate large scale machine production not previously obtainable. But the divorce of the people from ownership of the new wealth, the unemployment, even it probably means that the real

new total wealth & welfare are not increased.

Workers were expelled from land partly by force, partly with the Br. enclosure acts. Also, now more potent way, by the division of labor & technical appeal "advances" and machinery & mass production. That, operating in price market, starves the land workers (:) and drives them to the cities. But not all. It drives most chiefly those who accept wages values & who are "ambitious". But in Britain it took the enactment of tariffs & subsidies laws & actual force to do it, & even then it did not die. But see this in Prest pamphlet on machinery.

For reference to Chapter pp 41 – 46

p. 40. "Two essential conditions have to be secured before any considerable class of people (persons or those who work for others) both able and ready to sell their power to labour, can exist. In the first

plan, all forms of slavery, serfdom, peonage and villainage must be abolished. For if the mass of the population belong to certain overlords and landlords as their inherited private property, it is no use for the enterprising entrepreneur to offer them wages in order to induce them to come and work for him. In this case the potential worker will be unable to sell his labour. Such conditions of legal dependence must therefore be broken down. This part of the job, as we have seen, the middle class effectively accomplished in its war for the market. The establishment of the labour market requires, not only that the workers should be free – that they should not be prevented by any overlord or master – but also that they should neither possess nor have free access to the means of

productions."

N V R will enable ~~possible~~ parliament to get much ~~to~~ land on keep their land in the State or private landlords + the industrialists; it is meant the use and maintenance of an industrial proletariat. So Gandhi's program, including N. will mean capitalism + making the "free" world market for goods, the global search for raw materials, and the cheap market.

p 82. "Its reputation for strength is what we call prestige. A country gains strength from the possession of economic and military power. ... Prestige is not initially a matter of calculation, but prestige of indirect influence. In a diplomatic conflict the country which yields ~~first~~ ~~to~~ suffers in prestige, because the fact of yielding

is taken by the rest of the world to be evidence of conscious weakness. — In the last war prestige meant reputation for strength in war, and doubts on this might even only be set at rest by war itself. A country will fight when it believes that its prestige in diplomacy is not equivalent to its real strength." p. 83. "The acquisition of power through the use, or the menace, of the armed forces of this state is today an essential pre-requisite to the acquisition of wealth."

His chapter on nationalism overlooks the possibilities of H V K ending war and ending capitalism. It is a rare between the success of the Indian struggle and the next world war. : hurry up book [illegible]

the lower ignorance of India on pp 150 & 151

on writing established for abandoned, + talking about the "Bourgeoisie"

If India wins, the break up of the Empire will provide advances and arrangements sought for years, by France, Russia, Japan & U.S., to postpone a war and also to break down or terribly weaken capitalism itself. Soon after that the need of NVR methods may prevent a war.

See L. Dennis, "Is Capitalism Doomed?"

Striking passages in Lytle.

p. 166-7. "~~Man, before he can achieve~~

"Man" has learned how to control the forces of nature quite sufficiently to enable him, if he would, to make his life incomparably more secure, less arduous, longer, healthier, more

civilized in every respect, than it has ever been hitherto. But does his conquest of nature in fact constitute a victory over his environment as a whole? Does nature in fact constitute the whole of man's environment? Is man himself something apart from nature, something contradictorial to it by attribute? Certainly, there is not. Man is himself a part of nature, a part of his own environment. For each man, all other men, all of humanity, are part of his natural environment. And man's conquest of the whole of his environment necessarily involves man's self-conquest. In other words, the comprehension and so control of his fellow-men must be a part of any

control over his movement as a whole. Man, before he can achieve anything substantial, must learn to control not only nature but also the social organizations, the relations between men and men, which are necessary to his control over nature."

[i.e. we must learn to U.S.R. Nov.]

Stuchey argues quite rightly that defects of money are not the main cause of the great depression, but interferences with the free market of goods & of labour. [Thousands of kinds of violence.] If he is right, my chap on money is [illegible] of it. My [illegible] qualification. Cf. relations between monopoly & large scale organization.]

They attributed the progress of society to [illegible]

p. 82 Bukharin - "It is impossible to achieve the ultimate, though always remote, revolutionary optimum unless the

mind has first been purged of the false optimism of unlimited exterior liberation. The removal of an objective force emanated by a specific social class in order to achieve a new type of society, the futility of supposing that most woodlouse can solve the labor contradiction of our epoch and order, these things cannot be understood unless some centuries have passed over the mind."

Re Social Democracy and its "fostering life" pp 296-1

"Such a working class, living in mild, closely declining, but still inclusive in, way for a long time, and to a very complete degree, separate its words and thoughts from its actions. In this condition the workers may

become intolerant of anyone who does not use
combat phraseology when addressing
them. The whole terminology of their
politics may become combative. — The
militant trade union official will often
be required to breathe fervidness from
the platform. He thrills his audience with the workers' memories, he stirs with
words. And all the while the real life
of such a working class man, for good
or evil, may be [illegible] by
the limits set for it by capitalism.
As the rational capitalism in practice
declines those limits will grow narrower. If only, however, the process is
reasonably gradual, nothing will
happen. — A kind of verbal bombast
a revulsion of the heart-after - will
be established amongst such crudes

of the workers. And such a verbal socialism may actually make them support the more cruel, the hard, and ever more hard, conditions of capitalism. For verbal socialism, like religion, can in these conditions become the opium of the people."

See R. G. Hawtrey. "Economic Aspects of Sovereignty".

p. 352 Communism "is the one method by which human civilization can be maintained at all. It is true that some members of the existing ruling class are so accustomed to the autocratic benefits of a, for them, very perfectly functioning civilization that they cannot even conceive of what barbarism is like. But for the workers, who are mean to

unity, the absolute necessity of maintaining conciliation staff, even though they rightly feel that there is no necessity whatever for maintaining the present form of conciliation, a waste.

(Here we must come to VR, I for evidence now will bring evidence)

Re ~~[illegible]~~ timid words p. 354

"they will find that in shrinking from the agony of birth they have chosen the agony of death."

p. 374. Shows how adult education (W. E. A.) is helped to "declare" Re. workers of good training.

p. 395. "It would be false to pretend that there was any path forward which could relieve the British workers of efforts and sacrifices. Their choice is not between violence and peace.

History has not even used the possibility of universal harmony. And if the workers, misled by the dangerous perfidy of social democracy, were to deny themselves the right to fight for their future, they would find that all they had accomplished was to give free rein to the imperialists who will inevitably plunge the world into universal war. For if men hesitate before the task of achieving a new civilization; if they draw back because no new order of society can be born without violent conflict, they will not achieve an epoch of peaceful stability. The alternative to the violence entailed by the lifting of human life to a new level is the violence entailed

by the decline of human society, the break up of such would civilization as exists, the dawn of a new dark age of perpetual conflict for it is not given to men to stand still upon the path of history. Forward or backward is their only alternative. Men will either round the mouth The road forward, however, is infinitely the less beset by evil-ness and suffering.

"The sufferings, for example, which the workers will have to undergo in order to establish and maintain their rule in Britain, will be comparatively smaller than those which face them on the inevitable consequence of deciding once again to fight their masters, battles for them. And

there are the most alternatives before them. Instead of fighting, and that mainly, as they must if they remain under the leadership of their imperialists, to prevent all that is worst in the world, they will fight, if they fight for themselves to secure a new epoch in the history of mankind."

p. 43.- "The exact method by which the worker can be divorced from his tools is far less frank and obvious. Once the capitalist system has got going in any particular sphere of production, in agriculture, or in cotton spinning, or in building, or in what you will, long-established technically advanced forms of production are soon established. For the growth of trade, that is, of

exchanges, at once requires and renders possible an ever growing specialization of production. Nothing, however, is more obvious than that the growing specialization and division of labour promotes technical development and progress. For example, the cobbler will make better shoes and will find that it pays him to use better tools in making them, for he will keep his tools in constant use, than will the peasant farmer who tries to make his own shoes in his spare time. And technical development, it is universally agreed, at once requires and promotes large-scale production. Indeed there is a well-patented and well-known scale in the size of the unit of production all the way from the Ford works at Detroit to

the handloom of Mr. Gandhi's model peasant

---- "After some considerable amount of capital, some considerable collections of the means of production, that is, have been got together, the products of these new technically-advanced wage-worker-employing enterprises begin to compete on the market with the product of the individual handworkers, who still own the few simple means of production which had formerly been all that had been necessary in the trade in question. There can of course be only one end to such competition. The handworkers are first reduced to starvation and then driven out of the market. They have to sell their now hopelessly obsolete means of production for scrap: they become the new material of wage-workers, namely workers with no power to produce for themselves, and

with only their power to labour to sell. The classical example of this process is the ruin of the handloom weavers by the use of the large-scale machine-smashing capitals industry. It became, however, the fundamental difference in this method of divorcing the worker from his means of production and the former method of primary accumulation. In the case of the former method, it was the new landowner, a definite human person, who did the job - by, for example, putting up a most tangible fence round the land he was enclosing. In the second case, however, no particular person appears on the scene at all. The handloom weavers were not dispossessed, in any direct visible way, by the smashing mill owners. What came to them to the

mining then were not the millowners, but the millowners' products: not the cotton king themselves, but their cotton cloth (and the early revolts of the industrial workers were directed against the machines which produced the stream of commodities which seemed to be dispossessing them, instead of against the machine-owners). One sees a relationship between people disguised itself as a relationship between things. And this mystified method is the way in which a vast literature on the peculiar proportion of the workers have been divorced from the means of production. -- It has, too, a kind of voluntaryness about it -- Not it is not actually a matter of free choice for the worker. The worker has of course, only this choice - to go and work for capital or to starve. -- -- It is this

previous point, when a large mass of 'free' workers – free, that is, of everything ~~but~~ than labour power – had at length been created that the market became sufficiently free to allow of the function of a fully developed capitalist system. Capitalism may be said to exist when the principle of the free market has been extended to the labour market – when man's ability to work has, therefore, become a commodity, to be bought and sold on the market. For then and not till then does large-scale capitalist production become possible.

– "Capitalism has only passed collective labour at the common tasks (of factory and mine) by creating, on the one hand, a category of persons who live by virtue of their ownership of the means of production

and on the other hand, a category of persons who live by selling their power to labour".

Strachey's historical chapters on the birth of capitalism are superb. Also his analysis of capitalism today - under the headings of Monopoly, Nationalism, Unstable Economy, Capitalist Crisis, Back to the Market? His chapters on the theory of capitalist collapse are not so good. His ideas of metaphysics & religion are superficial, his ideas of science not too good, his discussion of literature rather irritating & unspecific. His concluding chapter on the future of capitalism & the political struggle & Socialism & on communism are excellent, except that I think he is too optimistic about probabilities of communism & revolution in England

In capitalist civ. he adopts Fisher's idea that ~~interest is determined by~~ the price level depends on the proportion of savings to investments, & then shows that those who decide how much should be invested in ~~capital~~ productive equipment are different from those who save. And as the time, & the way this balance is to be upset, especially when interest factors come in too, many ~~or~~ factors are determined which, but money rates, rather than interest. Britain abandoned the gold standard p. 124 "in to preserve the gold. She explained the convertibility of sterling to gold in order to preserve the remaining stock of gold in the Bank of England. In the case, Britain, therefore, did not so much abandon gold as resolve to cling desperately to

and it all ends to what gold remained to her."

He believes that under capitalism, money must always be a commodity & hence that general price can never be stable.

"Changes in the price-level are, in fact, predominantly due to non-monetary causes."

The Gita's injunction to fight was perhaps OK for that age, before disciplined mass NVR was invented. ~~For~~ Violence then was necessary in order to have order. But it is not necessary now, since Gandhi.

If we are not going to be indigent, we must lay emphasis on thinking and working out a new order.

"Wealth constituted by credit is

inaccessible to force" - wrote a Frenchman.

Bentham's Theory of Fictions" by C.K. Ogden. - Harcourt 1933. Has much about symbolism.

Fellowcrafters, Inc. 739 Boylston St Boston

Forgive us our debts - as we forgive our debtors means no obligation and no contract for past or present injuries.

"Fire" by John Matthews Oliver - Macmillan 1931 44. #1.

"The Book of Courage" by Herman Hagedorn John C Winston Co. Phila 1929

) ICS discouragement, many of the candidates for ICS exams, resolution on the great going in Oxford & Cambridge Unions, are all a part of a breakdown of the morale & self-assurance.

Since all wind moves so fast these days than 500 yrs ago, and faster in Oct than ever before, we will soon be results of the long period of Indian agitation since 1885.

The moral unity will decline during spring & summer. When the programs now [illegible] fade in 1933-4, the Princes will note the fact and so will the broken dis-heads. Reluctantly they will prepare to get on the band wagon or to leave town.

The distinction is not enough to

present legislation, but being used as will be a factor in causing the failure of the power in India.

~~Page of Very Doctrine Lost~~

~~Constitution will~~ After a time such action true to adopt what it considers effective values of the other. If so, India will adopt some and Br values + Br, ~~may~~, or its Salem groups anyhow, may adopt H.V.R.

The very discipline of the Br is a weakness now a days of Indian masses.

H V R is foreign in advance.

By means Indian govt finances ~~will~~ may be so much worse and Indian unity so advanced that the Pound will not

yield point at Anta or other things.
Is moderate and then probably refuse
to take the job & then end in a re-
surgence of C.D. Then shooting by an
& maybe result by Indian army &
elimination of Indians from yet jobs

Then N V R book & sentiments,
visit a festival re X's "out of the
beat mould" etc & "keep to beat
with all diligence, for out of it" etc

Sacrifice is necessary to all change,
all progress, to all directing of energy in
any one direction. Non-cooperation is a
mode of sacrifice. ∴ the place that
the sacrifice principle occupies in all
religions is. round. whether or not it
even exists depends on your scheme

of values.

How wilful are all the banks in the tiny towns of prairie towns! & how to prove responsibility, when the family may run elsewhere! Verily, man does not live by bread alone.

The $95 M fed by England & US at June 1932 could be recouped by 4 months' flow of gold from India at the present rate. & great temptation on England to do it & run risk on India. Some price will last another 6 months. ∴ drain of gold will continue. By 6 months more feelings will have gone so far in India that they will not change even if prices rise again.

Perhaps genius does not appear in a child of a genius because the genius is looked on as genius by others, so the child, sensitive to group opinion, is afraid of its ways.

—

He who would use VR should think it all out in advance and be sure of what he wants, for he will have to pay the price for his position and be ready to go down through. It creates responsibility.

—

The Ordinances may be used to try to defeat the purpose of it but to enter the halls. Police will break up Congress point meetings and prevent election of Congress candidates. But that would

drive the Congress completely to C.D. very strongly & radicals essentially.

The Russian revolution was mostly in regard to ideals, & so there is much difficulty there. The Indian revolution is changing the mass attitudes first & the ideals change will then come much easier.

No method of revolution is sudden & successful like a shift of gears. It needs preparation & growth. In Russia there was perhaps not enough preparation.

Gandhi gives partial security & control to the peasant the unemployed. Build them up first in the

U.S., I'll lay aside with the misleading
criticism. —

The quality of the crowd, found by
HVR, compels the crowd to relive
its unconscious motives & shows them to
the public. Thus it brings back the
shock of moral standards and draws
public attention & brings out the
moral significance of deeds. It brings
deeds to consciousness, compels critical
scrutiny & disguised impulses.

If, in dropping for poem a HVR
crowd quietly comes to oppose, the
very method it uses makes opposition
to it difficult, and makes it easier
for other crowds to resist it.

HVR leads to prevent
self-deception, individual & crowd.

It takes more than wokeism, to get rid of (crowd) hatred, of self pity, of delusions of grandeur, of desire for universal dominion, of fear, suspicion and defence mechanisms. It gets rid of 'righteous indignation', a homicidal witch fancy. By NVR men attain mastery of themselves and get free from the crowd mind and free from vital anxiety, ready to suffer themselves for their vision of truth.

Poor Britain has a crowd mind about the Empire. Hence all its self-deceptions & hypocrisies. It's in love with itself - a fixation. It dislikes other people who interfere with its delusions of grandeur. It's potentially homicidal in tendency. All sorts of fixations of gratification, swaggering, 'national

thomm' . I submit in part = an indication . A rationalization of conflict

~~Lathrop~~

Nationalism = economic egotism
= maybe an economic defense mechanism

—

To what extent is hostility toward other a projection of an inner conflict within ourselves? To the extent that hostility and hostility + love in us V A tend to end inner conflict, they tend also to end other ones. Inner conflict between our subconscious sense of human unity and our semi-conscious feeling of duality, or pluralism of egotism, imposed by attention to our time. impressions —

Efficiency makes people think for

[illegible] to
[illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] +
[illegible] glasses.

[illegible] is kind [illegible] the best
way to spend [illegible], and makes
it the better way of living than by
using money symbols too remote from
reality. With sign money the unit
is not in control of business, and the
unit of saving is correlated to the
unit of production."

Feb 22, 1933. Bess Van Patten got back
tonight after 3 days off at Hartford &
other places. Her coming in Hartford told her
she would be sorry to stay here, under the
condition, she reported. She says he thinks
that things are badly shot and conditions
are very grave. She ~~offered to~~ said she

would certainly not attempt to carry on business here by herself as she "has not made a dent" and a lot in the big city. In Hartford she has friends. She says she will go back there if she can get her little home again. She offered to leave right now if she was a "liability" & offered to give up Mrs. Cleveland. She said she would go and stay with her sister Fanny, or with friends. We told her no, to stay on. She said her coming was gloomy and evidently he had somewhat cured her. She says she has $1000. Marie said "no you are not - liability". We both told her that we thought she could do better in Hartford - there are so many decorators here, Houses are high

here, & there are no decorators in Hilford. She advised us to leave and go to the country as quickly as possible. We told her we had to wait anyhow until the taxes were expired. She said she did not no how any decorators here or anywhere could repay home & get back to good condition short of 3 or 4 years. We said she could stay on until July. She offered to help with the moving. We said we'd go to Hilford as soon as the lease of your home expires. She said she would write tomorrow to the owner of the home to see if she could get it back. Home told her she could rent out a room of her home & she agreed.

Sir S. Hoare's statement in L. Times of Feb 10 ~~that~~ admits that the moral was shaken in India at End of Dyarchy regime Admits that uncertainty shakes it. Very well, then we are still up against uncertainty in India. Hoare is cutting, as he says, on Princes, Moslems & untouchables. Why does he omit Landlords & Moderates? Does he know they are too weak, or does he trust Baldwin & Reid to work more mercifully on these 3 groups? But he will find the Moslems & untouchables are weak reeds to lean upon.

The division of opinion between Peel, Reading & Irwin is interesting as a split in the front U.K. group itself, and the attitude of Salisbury shows further how the ruling class itself is divided & uncertain in India.

Home is driven to uphold safeguards of time of I.C.S. in order to preserve I.C.S. morale. But that makes bad reaction among Indians. That in turn makes more anxiety among I.C.S. which in turn will drive govt to tighter safeguards. Irwin's admission re freedom of Parl is also a statement of anxiety but govt's views go be what to prices in Parl. I.C.S. will continue to be uneasy all through 1933.

Another reason why India is sure to win is the inherent nature of the Indian method of Satyagraha. The harder the Br try to win, the more they overthrow themselves & their influence.

I might write an article about Br. Comedy. Quote Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, & others

on honor [see Ballots familiar quotation
Then about the Englishman's word is as
good as his bond. Then some standard
Bx historians & writers on govt re
Bx (white) concepts & texts of self-govt & responsibility
e.g. at time of barons & King John, Pitt & Fox
& Burke re U.S. Rev., someone on Canada,
Bryce, someone on S. Africa. e.g. Sir H. Campbell
Bannerman. Then ~~Churchill et al on~~
~~what has been~~ Hansard on what has
been said about self govt for India by
Baldwin, Mac.Donald, Sankey, Irwin,
Bxm, etc. Then Churchill & others on
what has been given to India, 1870 +.
The inconsistency of ~~effort~~ responsible
govt + safeguards. Then Sankey on
moral honor + task

) C's & Tories are suspicious and fearful

that conversion to Indians upset the
safeguards. Indians are suspicious & fearful
that safeguards ruin the alleged self-govt.
Churchill stated the antinomy well. In the
tug of war between the two, a break is sure
to come because Tories are stronger in
Parl & will surely raise the safeguards higher.

Howe said that when the Br Govt
does the job now "while the weather is good"
they must get it done. He referred openly
to the huge Tory majority. Hence he
fears the swing of the public opinion to the
other side. Also maybe he fears a bloody
threat of upset for govt in India.

yet will play a notable part in days to come. There is one sentence in this book which is important enough to have had a book written about it. Love, said the author, is important in the child's life, but it must be love at an even temperature. An interesting anomaly in psycho-analytic thought is revealed by Dr. Wittels's insistence that child sex-

of the human mind."

So we may come to a "point of view." Mr. Loree has impressed it upon his ticket agents that they must all of them have a "point of view." He has endeavored to prove it to them by quoting from the Irish novelist and essayist, George Moore. Moore says:

"You may do a lot with your talent and your lives, but not till you have developed a point of view."

What, then, is Mr. Loree's "point of view," from which he is striving—and has so long striven—to do something with his talent and his life? It is indeed a synthesis of Spengler and Lawrence. He has stated it in a few sentences. These:

"We are killers, yes. We must fight for what we want and fight to keep what we get, yes. But we are not finishing our course. We shall go on discovering new resources. We shall go on increasing the variety and the potency of our mechanical servants. We shall grow into a standard of living better than any we have dreamed of. There is a social will. It is expressed in the law. The law is regularly upheld by the physical force of the group. The goal of the law is peace. The means to achieve it is struggle."

That's Mr. Loree's philosophy. New fields of peace, ever to be conquered through new outbreaks of struggle, under the leadership of fighters.

Hence, even while Mr. Loree was lying

Perhaps Hobson's emphasis on coercion will warrant my explaining more, wherein N.V.R. is not wrongful & violent in spirit & why it helps not harms.

Liddell Hart argues that in order of relative importance in war we should have (1) policy (2) strategy, (3) tactics. N.V.R. is an advance on this because it is at the same time the finest of all policies and strategy & tactics.

(1) The national policy lies in the part played with Hart in regard to this order of importance, the O's ought to be able fairly easily to adopt N.V.R., once they

understand it.

I remain in doubtful about any Hindu-Moslem accord because that of 1921 broke down so completely. But that was in relation to a mixed matter external to India - the Khilafat - & with which the Hindus outside of politics had no strong connection, & even the Moslems had only sentiment. But this time it is in regard to an internal matter which deeply and affects both parties in similar fashion and degree. Their purpose and methods, in both become one & the same.

Gr. Br. by refusing to recognise any Indian groups but dwindling minorities is piling up a big lot of trouble for those minorities.

Perhaps the essence of compulsion is its suppression of certain desire energies & prevention

of any substitution of them, ~~they~~ Substitutes must be voluntary. Party unions & party unanimity. In U.K. permit & calls for a substitution & the opponent, & not a suppression.

Stanley Baldwin's words in H of C in 1931 re effect of breaking up the unanimity of the 3 Br parties re India applies equally well to the forthcoming break up of the unanimity of the Conservative party which now controls Parl.

One effect of the Br. Conservative party opposition & speeches re India will be to offset Br intrigues & Untouchables & Moslems and to show up Ambedkar & the Moslem Old Guard still more clearly in their real character, — "Thus

weakening them as aids to Gt. Br.

Sir S. Hoare's letter in Times of Feb 10 admits that Britain is divided on Indian Q; that the Govt has been playing Liberals & rule & intends to go on doing so; that the Congress cannot be crushed; that he has anxieties about the future; that Fed autonomy is intended as a scheme to defeat Congress; that Ambedkar & moderns are being used to fight Congress; that the chief aim of Govt is to defeat Congress; that "self-govt" is being used in two senses - to deceive outsiders; that really no power is being given to India & the appearance of power is really to be used to block exemption of real power; that the safeguards are intended to be permanent prevention of Indian exemption of power

H of L speeches - especially that of Reading show intention to delay - long as possible & yield

nothing real. Note the continuity worked conflicts of opinion between Jesus and the Communities as shown in all the epistles.

Quotes from Reinhold Niebuhr's "Moral Man and Immoral Society", Scribners 1933

p. 31. "An irrational society accepts injustice because it does not analyze the pretensions made by the powerful and privileged groups of society. Even that portion of society which suffers most from injustice may hold the power, responsible for it, in reverence. A growing rationality in society destroys the unethical acceptance of injustice. It may destroy the morale of dominant groups by making them more conscious of the hollowness of their pretensions, so that they will be unable to assert their interests and pretensions

protect their special privileges with the same degree of self-deception. It may furthermore destroy their social prestige in the community by revealing the relation between their special privileges and the misery of the unprivileged. It may also make those who suffer from injustice more conscious of their rights in society and persuade them to assert their rights energetically." [Footnote from Robert Briffault, in his National Evolution, pp. 209-10, -- "No existence to power is possible while the sanctioning lies, which justify that power, are accepted as valid. While that first and chief line of defense is unbroken there can be no revolt. Before any injustice, any abuse or oppression can be resisted, the lie upon which it is founded must be unmasked, must be clearly recognized for what it is."]

p. 42. "Self-consciousness means the recognition of finiteness within infinity. [And he would put it just the other way around. Nsq]. The mind acquires the sense of insignificant point amidst the immensities of the world. In all vital self-consciousness there is a note of protest against this finiteness. It may express itself in religion by the desire to be absorbed in infinitude. On the secular level it expresses itself in man's effort to immortalize himself and give his life a significance beyond himself. The root of imperialism is therefore in all self-consciousness. ~~Imperialism~~

"In the effort to gain significance beyond himself man has exceeded, man fought for his social interests and invested significance with the same fervour and with

the same sense of gratification, with which he fights for his life."

pp. 53-54. "Philosophers may find difficulty in transferring the concept of personality, loaded as it is with connotations which are derived from the very limitations of human personality, to the absolute. But these difficulties are of small moment to the poetic imagination of religion. It uses the symbols derived from human personality to describe the absolute, and it finds them readily potent. Moral attitudes always develop most sensitively in person-to-person relationships. That is one reason why more inclusive loyalties, naturally more abstract than immediate ones, lose some of their power over the human heart; and why a shrewd society attempts to restore that power by making a person

the symbol of the community. The exploitation of the symbolic significance of monarchy, after it has lost its essential power, as in British politics for instance, is a significant case in point. The king is a useful symbol for the nation because it is easier for the simple imagination to conceive a sense of loyalty toward him than toward the nation."

p. 91-92 "It (the nation) not only possesses police power, which other communities lack, but it is able to avail itself of the most potent and timid symbols to impress its claims upon the consciousness of the individual. Since it is impossible to become conscious of a large social group without adequate symbolism, this factor is extremely important. The nation possesses in its organs of pow-

ernment, in the panoply and ritual of the state, in the impressive display of its fighting services, and, very frequently, in the splendour of a royal house, the symbols of unity and greatness, which inspire awe and reverence in the citizen".

p. 129. "Privileged groups have other persistent methods of justifying their special interests in terms of general interests. The assumption that they possess unique intellectual gifts and moral equipment which redound to the general good, is only one of them. Perhaps a more favourite method is to identify the particular organization of society, of which they are beneficiaries, with the general order of society in general and to appoint themselves the apostles of law and order. Since every society has an instinctive

desire for harmony and avoidance of strife, this is a very potent instrument of maintaining the unjust status quo. No society has ever achieved peace without incorporating injustice into its harmony. Those who would eliminate the injustice are therefore always placed at the moral disadvantage of imperilling its peace. The privileged groups will place them under that moral disadvantage even if the efforts toward justice are made in the most pacific terms. They will claim that it is dangerous to disturb a precarious equilibrium and will feign to fear anarchy as a consequence of the effort".

p. 148. ... Lenin was never sufficiently content in his determination to claim that orthodox Marxism was

the natural product of working class experience. He believed that the worker was incapable of elaborating an adequate social philosophy without aid. 'The history of all countries', he writes, 'testifies to the fact that the working class can evolve only a trade unionist consciousness, i.e., the conviction that it is necessary to coalesce into unions in order to fight the employers, to demand laws in favor of labor, etc. The doctrine of socialism grew up out of the philosophical and historical theories that were elaborated by educated members of the propertied classes, by the intelligentsia. Marx and Engels and the founders of scientific socialism, by birth belonged themselves to the bourgeois intelligentsia." [Stein in Works, Vol V. p 141]

p. 170 "Since it is very difficult to judge human motives, it is natural that, from an external perspective, the social consequences of an action a policy should be regarded as more adequate tests of its morality than the hidden motives. The good motive is judged by its moral goal. Does it have the general welfare as its objective? [This confuses the actual consequences of a policy with its a priori goal. RSG] [Here the argument of ~~was~~ justifying and based on this is rq.]

In the subsequent discussion of coercion & its validity on pp 171-174 he confuses pressure and coercion. He says that violence is not intrinsically immoral.

p. 171-2 "The assumption that violence and evolution are intrinsically immoral rests upon two errors. R The one

error is the belief that violence is a natural
17c and inevitable expression of ill-will, and
non-violence of good will, and that violence
is therefore intrinsically evil and non-
violence intrinsically good. While such a
proposition has a certain measure of validity, or at least of plausibility, it is
~~not~~ certainly not universally valid. It
is less valid in inter-group relations
than in individual relations, if our
assumption is correct that the achievement of harmony and justice between
groups requires a measure of coercion,
which is not necessary in the most
intimate and the most imaginative
individual relations. Once we admit
the factor of coercion as ethically
justified, though we concede that it is
always morally dangerous, we

cannot draw any absolute line of demarcation between violent and non-violent coercion. We may argue that the immediate consequences of violence are such that they frustrate the ultimate purpose by which it is justified. If that is true, it is certainly not self-evident; and violence can therefore not be ruled out on a priori grounds. It is all the more difficult to do this if we consider that the immediate consequences of violence cannot be differentiated as sharply from those of non-violence, as is sometimes supposed. The difference between them is not an absolute one, even though there may be important distinctions, which must be carefully weighed. Gandhi's boycott of British cotton

result in the undernourishment of children in Manchester, and the blockade of the Allies in war time caused the death of German children. It is impossible to coerce a group without damaging both life and property and without ingeniously the interests of the innocent with those of the guilty. There are factors which are involved in the intricacies of group relations; and they make it impossible to transfer an ethic of personal relations mentically to the field of inter-group relations. [If my class was cheap] ~~[I [illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

"The word error by which violence comes to be regarded as unethical in intrinsic terms is due to an uncritical identification of traditionalized instrumental values with intrinsic moral values. Only

good will is intrinsically good. But as soon as good will expresses itself in specific action, it must be determined whether the right motive has chosen the right instrument for the attainment of its goal and whether the objective is a desirable one. But good action as well as good will is intrinsically good. Cf. "He that doeth the will of my Father shall enter the K. of G." Action is more than an instrument for (good) will. It rests on the will and expands it and brings out its meanings and implications. ~~But in the~~ But even if regarded as an instrument, you must choose an instrument which will be understood by others, which will make clear to all the goodness (character) of your will. Be truthful. Again in Mt. N's Thinking the

is confusion between objective and actual result. He identifies them]

pp 174-5 -- "A reflective morality is constantly under the necessity of re-analyzing moral values which are regarded as intrinsically good and of judging them in instrumental terms. The more inclusive the ends which are held in view, the more the immediate consequences of an action cease to be the authoritative criteria of moral judgment. Since society must constantly deal with these inclusive ends, it always seems to capitulate to the dangerous principle that the end justifies the means. All morality really accepts that principle, but the fact is obscured by the assumption, frequently though not universally justified, that the character of immediate

consequences guarantee the character of the ultimate end. A community may believe, as it usually does, that reverence for life is a basic moral attitude, and yet take a criminal's life in order to deter others from taking life. It may be wrong in doing this; but if it is, the error is not in taking the life but in following a policy which does not really deter others from murder. [a pretty confusion for a minute! We regard for the real evil, namely the wrong impulse in the heart of the murderer, + we regard to the effect on society of taking life. Perhaps that is what N's desire for large organizations leads to.] [Perhaps my love to be stronger between groups than between individuals in order to maintain cohesion. But that does not require coercion + violence)

) ndex

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